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# ***Daily Report***

## **East Europe**

FBIS-EEU-93-216  
Wednesday  
10 November 1993

# Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-93-216

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**Finance Minister Resigns Over 'Unfounded' Charges**

*AU1011120593 Paris AFP in English 1146 GMT  
10 Nov 93*

[Text] Tirana, Nov 10 (AFP)—Albanian Finance Minister Genc Ruli, the architect of market reforms hailed by international financial institutions, has resigned over what he called "unfounded charges" of corruption levelled by the opposition. Radio Tirana reported Wednesday. The radio said Prime Minister Aleksandr Meksi had accepted the resignation and named Pirro Vishnica as his successor.

The opposition accused Ruli of being implicated in a financial scandal at the end of communist rule in 1991. Frenchman Nicolas Arsidi was said to have received 1.6 million dollars from Albanian authorities to renegotiate Albania's 450-million-dollar foreign debt.

Industry and Trade Minister Artan Hoxha also turned over his portfolio to Selim Pelurtaja under a minor cabinet reshuffle.

**Berisha Decrees Law on 'Dissolution' of Ministries**

*AU0911211693 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT  
8 Nov 93*

[Text] Tirana, November 8 (ATA)—The president of the republic, Sali Berisha, decreed the Law Nr. 7,762, dated October 25, 1993 "for the Dissolution and Creation of Some Ministries."

On the basis of this law, which enters into force immediately, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Cooperation becomes the Ministry of Industry and Trade, the Ministry of Finances and Economy becomes the Ministry of Finances and the Ministry of Industry, Mining and Energy becomes the Ministry of Mining Resources and Energy.

**State Radio-Television Signs Accord With Vatican**

*AU0811163793 Tirana ATA in English 1118 GMT  
8 Nov 93*

[Text] Tirana, November 8 (ATA)—An agreement was signed in Tirana yesterday establishing cooperation between Albanian Radio Television and the Vatican Radio. The accord covers exchanges in journalism, technology and other aspects in the field of communications. The Vatican Radio undertakes to provide technical and professional training of the Albanian RTV staff. The agreement also envisages the retransmission in Albanian by Radio Tirana of Vatican Radio programs.

The agreement was reached after meetings conducted throughout this year in Tirana and the Vatican. For the Albanian Radio Television the agreement was signed by Director General Skender Bucpapaj and for the Vatican Radio by the director general, Father Pasquale Borgome.

**Berisha, British Minister Discuss Ties, Balkans**

*AU1011072293 Tirana ATA in English 0908 GMT  
9 Nov 93*

[Text] Tirana, November 9 (ATA)—President Berisha stressed at his November 8 meeting with Baroness Chalker [UK Minister of State for Overseas Development] that the relations of Great Britain with Albania were severed after war by the illegal communist government (I call it illegal because it did not come to power on free elections) were restored two years ago and they have continued to develop steadily. I thank the British Government, institutions, humanitarian associations, and Englishmen for supporting Albania directly and through the European Community.

We think that Albania has efficiently used the British aid. Albania is very much interested in fostering allround and close cooperation with Great Britain. We also need British support to integrate Albania into the Council of Europe, the European Community, and other Western organizations.

Albania is determined to contribute to the peace and stability in the Balkans. Albania is also resolute to develop dialogue to resolve the crisis in the region. But we are not for the dialogue Milosevic wishes to conduct with some discredited Albanians, supporter of the Serb power, who are not trusted men. Dialogue should be conducted with the leaders of the Albanian political parties in Kosova, President Rugova, and other leaders who are trusted by Albanians and have their mandate as well. Participating in the dialogue should also be representatives from other organizations, such as the Geneva Conference.

Unfortunately, Milosevic not only has not accepted dialogue, but he did hinder Mr. Rugova to enter into dialogue with Europe because Milosevic did not allow Rugova to answer the invitation of French Foreign Minister Juppe and yours. I appreciate you and the British Government for the invitation addressed to Mr. Rugova. We are not for the change of borders through violence but we are in favour of a solution of the Kosova issue in keeping with the CSCE principles. Albania is to Europe a reliable partner in the contested region of the Balkans and it meets with great difficulties to preserve the values of ancient civilization. Albania wishes to maintain correct and friendly relations with Greece. We hope that Papoulias' visit to Albania will make a great contribution in this direction.

Baroness Chalker reiterated the commitment of the Government of the United Kingdom to help Albania. She appreciated the transformations in Albania over the last 18 months, the efforts of Albania to establish the rule of law, to observe human rights, and complete the economic reforms. Mrs. Chalker said that such British companies as British Petroleum, Premier Oil, Merye and others plan to make investment in Albania.

Baroness Chalker handed to President Berisha a letter from British Prime Minister, John Major, who invited President Berisha to visit Britain during 1994.

#### **Chalker Meets With Meksi**

*AU1011072493 Tirana ATA in English 0913 GMT 9  
Nov 93*

[Text] Tirana, November 9 (ATA)—Prime Minister Meksi stressed at his November 8 meeting with Baroness Chalker [UK Minister of State for Overseas Development] that the relations between Albania and United Kingdom should be closer and should expand in all areas. Mr. Meksi also said that British investors should increase investment in Albania.

Baroness Chalker assured Mr. Meksi that UK will continue to help Albania. Mr. Chalker took interest in the current economic situation in Albania and the development of the reform and made suggestions regarding the increase of production and modernization of bank system. Baroness Chalker voiced her readiness to carry out joint projects in the field of health, education, and culture and promised to influence on the European Community to increase help for Albania.

Mrs. Chalker and Mr. Serreqi talked about the relations between Albania and United Kingdom and the possibilities to foster cooperation between the two countries.

Mrs. Chalker also visited the municipality of Tirana where she was received by Mayor Sali Kelmendi. The mayor of Tirana voiced his wish and of the Tirana inhabitants to establish links with British companies. Mrs. Chalker took interest in the projects for the construction of 2-3 storeyed villas. An agreement was signed by Mr. Kelmendi, Mr. Martin Stand, representative of "Mckinroy International" and Baroness Chalker.

Baroness Chalker also visited the Institute of Handicapped Children and the Child Care Center, which is run by the European Community.

During the visit to Albania, Baroness Chalker was accompanied by British ambassador, Fairweather. Baroness Chalker ended her official visit on November 8.

#### **Delegation Attends Black Sea Assembly Meeting**

*AU0911211893 Tirana ATA in English 0919 GMT 9  
Nov 93*

[Text] Tirana, November 9 (ATA)—The Press and Information Office of the People's Assembly reports that an Albanian parliamentary delegation, led by Deputy Abdi Baleta, attended the ordinary meeting of the political and social cultural commissions of the parliamentary assembly of the countries of the Black Sea.

The chairmen of the commissions were elected at the meetings and topics were fixed to be treated in the future to ensure effective operation of the organization and to strengthen relations among the participant countries. Deputy Baleta was elected to report at the political commission.

#### **4,500 People Reportedly Receive Unfair Economic Aid**

*AU0911212193 Tirana ATA in English 1138 GMT 9  
Nov 93*

[Text] Tirana, November 9 (ATA)—Almost half of those enrolled for economic aid in the Economic Aid and Social Protection Section in Tirana Municipality receive this aid unjustly because they work in private sectors, the chief of this section, Mr. Lefter Kume, told RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE. According to the figures provided by him, out of 9,000 families in Tirana who profit economic aid, according to the Law (for Social Aid and Care), 4,500 do not meet the requirements for aid.

In November, the economic aid granted to nine thousand families amounted to 20 million new leks.

### **SDS Proposes No-Confidence Vote in Cabinet**

*AU0911164793 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] The parliamentary faction of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] proposed a no-confidence vote in the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Bulgaria because of the antisocial policy it conducts.

The proposal points out that 10 months after electing Professor Lyuben Berov's cabinet all people understood that his deceiving promises about a lower price of the transition indeed were followed by an incompetent and brutal policy. This puts a question mark over the survival of hundreds of thousands of Bulgarian citizens. This is stressed in the decision of the SDS political organ.

### **Motion Explained**

*AU0911193093 Sofia BTA in English 1817 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Sofia, November 9 (BTA)—Today the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) introduced a no confidence motion in the government of Prof. Lyuben Berov on account to its anti-social policy. In spite of its commitments, Prof. Berov's cabinet failed to guarantee social benefits in real terms this year and the effective system for social assistance is virtually collapsing, according to the reasoning of the SDS MP's. "The transition to an up-to-date social security system based on funds separated from the national budget remained hollow promises on the part of the government," reads the motion.

"Bulgaria is in a state of bankruptcy at the moment," SDS leader Filip Dimitrov told the press earlier today. The fact that a mere 57 percent of the 1993 budget revenue have been collected by October 8 comes to show either that "this cabinet is non-existent or that, because of stupidity or as a deliberate lie, it projected the impossible when it drew up the revenue side of the national budget," Mr. Dimitrov said. "The policy of the incumbent cabinet brought about the recent collapse of the lev rate and the hyperinflation risk, and the system of cost-of-living adjustment it has proposed is sheer cynicism," the SDS leader went on to say.

The cabinet of Lyuben Berov, an independent economist, was elected in late 1992 on the mandate of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) and with the support of BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. The cabinet was backed by the New Union for Democracy, formed by SDS expellees and defectors. Since the formation of Prof. Berov's cabinet, the SDS has introduced three no-confidence motions in it on various occasions: Once in May and twice in July. All three motions were defeated in a secret ballot by a majority of over 140 votes. A no-confidence motion in the government requires an affirmative vote of more than half of all 240 MP's. SDS leaders stressed that their no-confidence motions were intended to make clear which political forces support the government and bear the political responsibility for its actions.

There is speculation about upcoming cabinet changes after a DPS National Conference to be held in late November. "Personnel changes used to follow national conferences of one party or another in Bulgaria four years now," Zhan Videnov said, commenting on this speculation. "Neither new faces in the cabinet, nor even new cabinets will save the country," said today the leader of SDS, the coalition which pressed for early general elections in early 1993. "What we need is a revision of the policy implemented in running the country, and this will be only possible when this policy is implemented by a political force, commanding, among other things, the requisite parliamentary majority," Mr. Dimitrov said.

### **Berov Plays Down Motion**

*AU1011121493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 10 Nov 93*

[Text] In a provisional assessment, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov described as unsuccessful the latest motion of no confidence in his cabinet proposed by the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces]. He declared to a BTA reporter that after so many instances of defamation of the government, a further attempt of this kind was of no importance.

This is what the prime minister said when commenting on [leader of the Turkish Democratic Party] Aden Kenan's statement on Turkish autonomy: I consider that it is proper, in the spirit of the good relations between Bulgaria and the United States, for the U.S. Embassy to supply the letter, or it is the duty of Kenan or someone else to publicly declare to the people what he wants. The prime minister added that it was also necessary to establish whether these demands violate the Penal Code.

The prime minister attributed yesterday's failure to sign the interim trade agreement between the European Community and Bulgaria to internal contradictions within the European Community. According to Berov, this approach might be compared to Bulgaria refusing to observe the Yugo-embargo simply because some of the parties did not approve it.

### **Deputies Comment on Current Party Issues**

*AU0911174393 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 1 Nov 93 pp 1, 4*

[Report on interviews with Aleksandur Tomov, chairman of the Civil Alliance for the Republic; Aleksandur Yordanov, chairman of the National Assembly and deputy chairman of the Radical Democratic Party; and Krasimir Premyanov, National Assembly deputy from the Bulgarian Socialist Party, by Boyko Vasilev in Sofia on 30 October: "Yordanov Will Not Allow the National Assembly To Debate the Bill on the Supreme Judicial Council"]

[Text] The news section of the Panorama Program on national television [on 1 October] showed pictures of the wedding of Ahmed Dogan. Far from Ispirikh, Studio 6



of Bulgarian National Television was filled with tension, which reached its peak toward the end of the program. The tension was caused by the draft law on the Supreme Judicial Council, which has been the leading topic for over a week now. During the program, Anna Karaiyanova, a deputy from the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], had an exchange with the official responsible for procedural matters under Supreme Court Chairman Ivan Grigorov. Nevertheless, all eight participants in the discussion remained until the end of the Panorama Program; indeed, some of them were in no hurry to leave. Aleksandur Tomov, however, was in a hurry.

[Vasilev] Mr. Tomov, you said that you would form an alliance to achieve certain goals, but not on the basis of personalities. Does this imply that you will ally yourselves with the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement]?

[Tomov] Look here, the aims will be national ones. Accordingly, whoever accepts them will be identified with a national cause. As far as the DPS is concerned, this will mean that it will turn into a national party. If this is so, Bulgaria will be the winner. Let us see what happens in practice....

[Vasilev] Who are the enemies of the GOR [Civil Alliance for the Republic]?

[Tomov] The GOR has no enemies, only groups with which it has ideological differences. First, we are republicans, so we do not hold the same views as the monarchists, although many of them deserve respect. Second, we disagree with the neocommunists, who are striving to achieve a form of consistent left-wing communism.

[Vasilev] You have said that the GOR will not return to the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party].

[Tomov] I said that the GOR has nothing in common with the BSP. It is an independent political formation.

[Vasilev] What about the OSD [Alliance for Social Democracy]?

[Tomov] The OSD is an organization inside the BSP, whereas the GOR is an independent, completely autonomous political formation.

[Vasilev] Is it true that intellectuals are leaving your organization?

[Tomov] Quite the reverse is true. I do not see any leadership of a political formation with such outstanding intellectual qualities. No one is leaving us. We are still at the beginning, but the fact is that many are joining us.

[Vasilev] Who is interested in the GOR failing?

[Tomov] Everyone for whom the GOR represents competition.

[Vasilev] You mean the center?

[Tomov] Not only the center. The GOR is a rival for several political formations, not only those in the center. However, the GOR will succeed. It is already doing so.

[Vasilev] (Aleksandur Yordanov was one of the first to leave the studio. My first question to him referred to the hot subject of the Panorama program.) Will the draft law on the Supreme Judicial Council be submitted to the full session of the National Assembly next week?

[Yordanov] I will do everything possible to ensure that the bill is not put on the debating agenda because, as became clear in tonight's program, it contains many controversial elements that have to be clarified by the Legislative Commission. This is perfectly normal and logical, because otherwise the chamber of parliament would explode with tension, and the situation might even lead to the dissolution of parliament.

[Vasilev] If it is debated nonetheless, what is the likely result of the vote?

[Yordanov] I do not believe that the bill will be on the agenda.

[Vasilev] You said on Panorama that the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] is constantly finding itself in losing situations, but you did not say who was to blame for this.

[Yordanov] No, I said nothing about blame. It is a question of responsibility, and this is naturally a matter for the SDS leaders.

[Vasilev] You mean the present SDS leaders?

[Yordanov] Of course, because the previous leaders nevertheless won victories, and major ones at that, including the 13 October 1991 elections.

[Vasilev] It is said that your party supports you. If the subject comes up at the meeting of the SDS National Coordinating Council tomorrow, will the others also support you?

[Yordanov] I do not believe that the National Coordinating Council will discuss the issue, because there is nothing to discuss. I have acted correctly, and those who have realized that I have done so know that I have. As for the others, I give them until tomorrow to realize that I am right.

[Vasilev] Do you expect any games to be played against you?

[Yordanov] I am certain of it. It is simply that personal ambitions and passions are so strong that I am sorry that Bulgaria does not have 10 parliaments and 10 parliamentary chairmen.

[Vasilev] Who will play these games?

[Yordanov] Envy.

[Vasilev] Is it possible that relations between the DPS and the SDS may improve?

[Yordanov] I think that it is possible to achieve successes in specific legislative work and to stop the process of recommunization if the SDS reaches understandings with the DPS on specific issues. However, it is impossible to restore the parliamentary majority in such a way as to form a new coalition government.

[Vasilev] (I first asked Krasimir Premyanov the same question that I asked Aleksandur Yordanov.) Will the bill on the Supreme Judicial Council reach the plenary session of parliament?

[Premyanov] It is included in the agenda. Look here, in 1991 the SDS submitted this bill with blatant political motives, with the aim of appointing its own people. This was more or less the logic of what I said. Now we say this: We should appoint professional experts, not our own people, because crime is a great scourge of society. Furthermore, this is a necessary condition for the world to believe our claims that Bulgaria is a stable country and that other countries can cooperate with us.

[Vasilev] Is the BSP afraid of spring elections?

[Premyanov] The BSP is never afraid of elections, as far as its own interests are concerned. It feels the heavy responsibility on its shoulders, namely not to assist the ruinous process that started when the SDS won the elections—the process of confrontation, animosity, and destruction of the state and the economy. Furthermore, the BSP is attempting to make the elections a means for guaranteeing that after the elections a start will be made on building something in this state and on saving society and the people.

[Vasilev] Aleksandur Lilov has been quoting as saying in Montana that the BSP is not completely happy with the government.

[Premyanov] I will not comment on Lilov's speech, but will state my own view. The cabinet is working under unfavorable conditions. The presidential institution is constantly interfering in its work, and the political forces are blackmailing it. Certainly, this is not an ideal cabinet, but I believe that it has a good prime minister. If he lies behind the cabinet's future actions, irrespective of whom he works with in the future, the cabinet has a potential that can be applied to the reforms in agriculture, in the fight against crime, and in strengthening the economy.

[Vasilev] What is your comment on the thesis that the GOR forms part of the BSP's strategic design?

[Premyanov] Everything that follows from the policy of national consensus can be related to this, in view of the fact that the BSP proposed national consensus. However, I think that national consensus can be achieved by changes in the policies of the existing political forces, not by inventing new ones, because there is simply no potential for others—as regards both the political conditions in the country and the political leaders.

[Vasilev] (The politicians were warned that their interviews would be published in TRUD under the rubric "Behind the Scenes of the Panorama Program".)

#### 'Disappointment' With EC Expressed

AU0911211393 Sofia BTA in English 1999 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, November 9 (BTA)—Ms. Zhasmin Popova, minister plenipotentiary with the Bulgarian Mission to the European Community, expressed her disappointment with the failed attempt to decide on the entry into force of Bulgaria's interim trade agreement at today's meeting of the EC foreign ministers in Brussels. Bulgaria is kept a hostage of the community's infighting, Ms. Popova said in a telephone interview for the Bulgarian national radio.

"The reasons are clear: Controversies over the mechanisms for trade protection in the EC and the dispute between the two camps—the protectionist-minded countries and the liberal-minded ones," Ms. Popova said. According to her, Belgium, which now chairs the EC, did everything it could to help solve the issue, but the member-countries stayed firm on their stands.

Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes lost his temper at the failed attempt to break the deadlock. Bulgaria's interim trade agreement had got in, the national radio said. According to its report, Belgian Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene was going to send messages to all his counterparts heading the governments of the EC states suggesting to them to deblock the coming into effect of the interim agreement on trade with Bulgaria.

#### DPS Official Critical of Dimitrov

AU0911175193 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 2 Nov 93 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Aleksey Alekseev, parliamentary secretary of the Rights and Freedoms Movement, by Valeriya Veleva; place and date not given: "Parliament Chairman Is Giving the Union of Democratic Forces a Chance to Consolidate"]

[Excerpts] [Veleva] Mr. Alekseev, two months ago the president dropped a hint that parliament might be restructured, and after this Ahmed Dogan started talking about restoring the old parliamentary majority, but the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] rejected both ideas. In your view, is a new-old majority possible?

[Alekseev] It is wrong for us to try to call for an old-new majority, or the reverse, as you like to call it, because 1993 is not the same as 1991. Today not one of the parliamentary parties is the same as it was then. However, it is possible for a majority of democratic forces to appear, even a parliamentary alliance of democratic forces formed by deputies from individual parties, but it is essential to sign a political agreement that precisely defines the common interests on the basis of the basic

principles of the reform. However, this would already be a majority of a new kind. [passage omitted]

[Veleva] Who may be the initiator of this majority of parliamentary democratic forces? All have distanced themselves from Ahmed Dogan, while President Zhelev's words were construed as a wish to form a presidential party.

[Alekseev] Usually no one forgives the one who proves to be right, who turns out to be wiser politically than the rest. I will candidly declare that, irrespective of the qualities he possesses, as a politician Ahmed Dogan is burdened and restricted by the fact that he belongs to an ethnic community against which the Bulgarian people harbor prejudices accumulated from the past.

Apart from the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement], certain forces within the SDS itself can be the initiators of such a majority. I refer to the young technocrats, who hold no extreme views, but are under pressure from the little group that holds the reins of power in the SDS National Coordinating Council. There are also people in the New Alliance for Democracy, the DPS, and even some in the wings of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] who might commit themselves to agreements in the name of the common national interest, following which everyone could calmly prepare for elections. [passage omitted]

[Veleva] A view exists that some people want elections because the electorate's vote has been perverted.

[Alekseev] These assertions are completely without foundation. It is more apposite to say that the electorate's vote has been spoiled. The strange thing is that some people are hiding and misrepresenting the facts. Why is this so?

Way back in May 1992, when the vote of confidence was being taken in Filip Dimitrov's cabinet, the entire DPS parliamentary group supported the government of the time. Only Ahmed Dogan showed the red card, so to speak, to indicate symbolically that Filip Dimitrov and company were Bolshevizing the SDS, turning it into a red party by their actions. People should have understood this, but it was not advantageous to do so. Who could appreciate this eloquent and precise warning: Where is the SDS going under Filip Dimitrov's leadership? The mistrust that the DPS expressed by this did not apply to the SDS as a whole, but only to certain individuals in the SDS who had usurped power and appropriated the right to call themselves the SDS. The worst aspect of this is that the SDS allowed these people to do what they did. That is the tragedy. The entire SDS organization was blamed for the consequences of the actions of a clique within the SDS. They are all paying the price for the megalomaniacal actions of their leaders.

Whereas an unregulated alliance existed between the DPS and SDS before the red card was shown, afterwards such an alliance proved to be impossible. At the same time, the DPS and SDS failed to sign an agreement on

political cooperation, and not for any lack of will on the DPS's part. The small group of SDS leaders did not permit this, because they realized that it would destroy their hegemony. When things took a dangerous turn for the SDS, the DPS was faced with a choice: either to support the country's interests or to defend the messianic ambitions of a handful of individuals who had appropriated the right to identify themselves with the SDS image. It should not be forgotten that on several occasions the DPS offered its mandate [to form a government] to the SDS, but not to Filip Dimitrov. It was as if someone wanted the SDS, the DPS, parliament, and the whole country to fall to their knees before Filip Dimitrov. What is democratic about such ambitions? In the best event, they may lead to authoritarianism and dictatorship, and the Filip Dimitrov government in fact started to lurch toward this. Anyone who acts on the principle: "Either me, or no one else" or "After me the deluge" shows the sort of politician he is. It was Filip Dimitrov and no one else who caused the loss of the DPS as an ally.

[Veleva] Nonetheless, he obstinately refuses to admit his mistakes, which caused the downfall of the common SDS idea.

[Alekseev] This is the only way he can stay at the top. For him and his group to continue to exist, they have to encourage confrontation, polarize society, and divide the political formations into extreme right and extreme left. The principle is clear: "Crush the other chap, destroy him, so that things are all right for you."

The other way is to unite people round the reforms, no matter who they are. What is important is what idea one serves and what one does. The blue [SDS] idea is not some abstraction, if a program for action today, tomorrow, and the following day, according to which today's services only remains valid today. You cannot live tomorrow on the services that you render today. If you are a democrat today, you also have to be one tomorrow.

#### Commentary Criticizes BSP Security Doctrine

AU0911083693 Sofia OTECHSTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 1 Nov 93 p 3

[Commentary by Kalin Manolov: "The Bulgarian Socialist Party Won the Red Point"]

[Text] At its plenum on Saturday [30 October], the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] approved a draft resolution on the national security doctrine and decided to submit the document to parliament, the government, and the Army General Staff by the end of November 1993. In addition to the fact that the intention looks like a hidden reproach against the aforementioned institutions reminding them that someone else is doing their job, the creative efforts of a team of BSP military and foreign policy specialists launched certain party theses disguised under the slogan of "nationwide" phraseology. What it is all about? It is nothing but a new expression of the BSP's favorite policy pleading for active neutrality



and its resistance against the possibility that Bulgaria might officially apply for NATO membership.

Active neutrality as such obliges a country to refrain from joining already existing security structures or large worldwide and regional forces. This means, however, that the country in question should look for sufficiently effective alternative guarantees within the framework of similar European structures. It is quite easy to read between the lines of the BSP national security concept in order to detect which part of Europe the Socialists prefer. They are focusing their attention on the Black Sea zone and the Danubian Basin. It is precisely the area where Russia wanted to build the Eastern Orthodox economic, cultural, and, last but not least, military axis under its own control.

The affiliation with Russia is perhaps a way of "resolutely opposing any attempts of regional hegemony in the Balkans," to cite the BSP concept. However, we dearly paid for the "reliability" of this system with our humiliating dependency, which lasted over the last half century. This is not the correct manner of repeating a mini model of united Europe on a Balkan scale, outside the tutelage of the great powers. Apart from this, cooperation with the Slavonic and Eastern Orthodox nations is even an obligation for Bulgaria, which is situated at the borderline between Christendom and the Islam in the geopolitical sphere.

As far as the Socialists' resistance against Bulgaria's aspirations to become a full NATO member are concerned, it is not surprising and may also be a result of the "Russian connection." It is sufficient to recall that Russian President Yeltsin recently did not show much enthusiasm at the idea of our joining NATO. It is another question that the NATO people are not in a hurry to accept us, although recognizing our right of insisting on joining them.

Let us hope that last Saturday's socialist plenum may be the final stage of the competition between institutions and political parties in the field of national security, where different concepts, doctrines, and bills exist in abundance. The Presidency has its own (national security doctrine drafted at the beginning of 1992), the Bulgarian Business Block submitted one (the concept on national security of May 1993), the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] adopted one (bill on defense and the armed forces adopted in November 1992), and last but not least, the Army General Staff also adopted such a document (military doctrine drafted in October 1993), and so forth. It is high time for each of these elements related to our national security to be completed and adopted with the consensus of all political forces, and it time they should be drafted with logical consistency, namely, in the following order: national security doctrine—military doctrine—act on defense and the armed forces. Four years are sufficient for the leaders in charge of drafting our national security doctrine to develop their concept so that we may rely on the basic principles

of our national identity as Bulgarian citizens. The time has come for active legislative work in this respect.

#### **Matinchev Comments on Compensation for Sanctions**

*AU0911174793 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 5 Nov 93 pp 1, 4*

[Interview with Bulgarian Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev, chairman of Governmental Commission on UN Sanctions, by Aleksandur Angelov; place and date not given: "Bulgaria Expects Profitable Investment, Not Hard Cash"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Angelov] Mr. Matinchev, what is the latest figure for our losses from the Yugoslav embargo?

[Matinchev] By the end of the year, we calculate that our direct and indirect losses will have reached about \$3.2 billion all together. We are seeking compensation in different forms: financing from international institutions to resolve certain urgent problems connected with Bulgarian exports, investment by the World Bank in specific projects, and so on. The foreign debt negotiations with the official creditors of the Paris Club also form part of this.

[Angelov] What are the main aspects of the government's policy on the economic sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council against Serbia and Montenegro?

[Matinchev] First, I continue strongly to support the thesis that we should strictly observe the resolutions on trading and economic sanctions. Bulgaria has a definite place in the international community, and it must obey the community's rules.

Second, it is the government's policy to pursue our demand for a proper assessment of our losses from the embargo. However, we are now ready to show our calculations to anyone to wants to see them. So far no one has queried them.

Third, we should make it clear what we want, and we should draft a clear program. Now that we have raised the issue so actively with the Council of Europe, the UN Economic Commission, and so on, we already have some results: Individual governments are offering specific aid under the PHARE [Economic and Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program and in other forms.

[Angelov] You say that there is no hope of obtaining direct compensation, but in what forms will we obtain indirect compensation?

[Matinchev] Six weeks ago the Government Commission on the UN Sanctions approved a package of projects specifically related to the country's transportation and telecommunications infrastructure; these have a total value of \$3.3 billion, that is, a little more than our losses to date. The government's approach is to propose to the

international community projects that might be financed on a favorable basis, but not free of charge. In this way, they can compensate us indirectly for our losses resulting from the Yugoslav sanctions. We expect that these projects will be submitted to the international institutions, mainly the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the European Investment Bank.

At the end of this month the CSCE is to organize a conference of the so-called frontline states—the states directly bordering on Serbia that are suffering the greatest losses from the sanctions, among which Bulgaria naturally comes first. This conference will examine specific projects in the fields of infrastructure and telecommunications that might alleviate the position of these states, which are unable to send their freight in transit through the territory of Serbia. It is a very important point that the accent will be placed precisely on transportation and telecommunications, as the Bulgarian Government wanted.

On the other hand, Bulgaria has proposed that the UN General Assembly include on its agenda the adoption of a special resolution on the economic effects on the countries that are suffering the greatest losses from the sanctions. Events are now developing in a truly dynamic way, and we expect real results within the next two or three weeks.

[Angelov] Can you cite a specific example?

[Matinchev] One of the Bulgarian demands is to build a six-lane thoroughfare from Kulata via Sofia to Vidin, but this will also have to be approved by Greece and Romania. This forms part of the projects proposed by the EC Economic Commission to build an efficient transportation infrastructure for Europe.

[Angelov] Reports have appeared that, owing to lack of money, the United Nations has recently been delaying the processing of applications from our companies for permits to make humanitarian deliveries to Yugoslavia. What is your own information on this?

[Matinchev] Many absurd things have been said about this. It is true that at the beginning there was some delay, but this was connected with certain bureaucratic requirements that our firms were not observing. For this reason, the percentage of the permits for humanitarian deliveries granted to us was at first about 10 percent, but this quickly increased. From 20 June to 20 September Bulgarian firms submitted 2,160 applications, and permits have been issued for 895 of this. It takes three months to consider the applications, and permits are not granted automatically. We have no reports of delays in processing the documents, rather the reverse.

During the last 40 days we have submitted about 1,150 fresh applications, making a total of 3,300, and during the same period we have received about 350 permits. Accordingly, about a third of our applications are successful. Of the total exports of goods under Paragraph

55, 55 percent consists of food, 20 percent of medicine, while the remainder consists of various essential consumer goods. [passage omitted]

[Angelov] What progress has been made with the idea to transport goods across Serbian territory under international control?

[Matinchev] The stories about a transport corridor through Serbia are complete fabrications. We have never asked for this from anyone, because its practical implementation is impossible. The question was raised of escorted freight convoys through Serbian territory, which is quite a different matter. The idea is to make up convoys of 20 to 30 international trucks, which will transit Serbia monitored by foreign observers. Serbia has expressed its readiness to escort the trucks and to guarantee their transit, and a specific route has even been proposed. Brussels supports the idea, but the UN Sanctions Committee has still to consider it.

#### Controversial Krajina Delegation Visit Viewed

AU0911110193 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 5 Nov 93 p 1

[Article by Eli Yurukova: "Coordinated With Ruling Party"]

[Text] On 4 November the delegation of the self-proclaimed republic of Serbian Krajina, recognized by no one, which visited Bulgaria, gave a news conference in Belgrade, at which it proudly proclaimed the great international breakthrough it had achieved with its visit to Bulgaria. According to the leader of the delegation, Mile Paspal, chairman of Krajina's national assembly, the visit created an international precedent, and in effect represents recognition of the republic's independence. He based this statement on the fact that the visit was official, because it was organized after consultations with the Bulgarian authorities. "Despite the fact that we were invited to Bulgaria by the parliamentary Fatherland Labor Party, our visit did not take place without the consent of the government, which for its part, does not want this to become known in the international arena, because of the Krajina's status and the international situation. Everything was coordinated with the ruling party, however," Mrs. Tanga, Krajina minister of information, said. The Serbs from Krajina gave an evasive answer to the conclusion expressed by DEMOKRATSIYA's correspondent, namely, that the visit took place at the invitation of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and its coalition parties, and they were obviously uneasy. The Bulgarian Foreign Ministry denies having any diplomatic contacts with the Serbian Krajina, but from what Mile Paspal said it transpires that such meetings with Bulgarian partners have been held, although those meetings were secret and probably attended on the Bulgarian side by BSP representatives.

When I requested specific evidence and documents related to the claim that there is a threat to the waters of the Danube from the German nuclear waste stored in

Croatia, it was pointed out that the Serbian Krajina merely suspects the existence of such facts. Only a few days ago, however, the Bulgarian newspapers treated this claim as a sensation. The Serbs said that Bulgaria had promised them technical and material aid and that the matter would be investigated. It appears that Bulgarian experts will investigate unproven rumors disseminated by the delegation.

At the same time Krajina's delegation places a question mark over all treaties related to the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia, which is recognized by Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian Socialists rarely receive so much praise in Belgrade. The delegation also visited Kurdzhali, where

representatives of the BSP and the Fatherland Labor Party joined them in exchanging experience in overcoming ethnic tension. I am curious what the Serbs, who were first to become famous for ethnic cleansing in former Yugoslavia, had to say on this matter.

[DEMOKRATSIYA note] In the meantime BTA has released a statement by Marko Shukarev, chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia and Tsaribrod, denying the allegation of the same delegation that Bulgarians from the western outlands were fighting on the side of the Serbs in Krajina. He had said that the Bulgarians were forced to join the Yugoslav Army, and that they were handcuffed and forced to sing Serbian nationalistic songs.



**Disagreement With Hungary on Minorities Issue Noted***AU0911153493 Prague CTK in English 1612 GMT  
4 Nov 93*

[Text] Budapest, Nov 4 (CTK)—Central Europe plays a very modest role in the U.S. foreign policy as compared to that of Moscow, chairman of the Czech Parliament Foreign Committee Jiri Payne told CTK today in conclusion to his two-day visit to Hungary.

A similar view is shared by Hungary, chairman of the Hungarian Parliament Foreign Committee Laszlo Kovacs told CTK. The visit by U.S. President Bill Clinton would be important for the stability of Central Europe, said Payne.

Kovacs said that the two countries' views of relation to NATO are almost identical. The two countries' views differ, however, in the issue of the ethnic minorities, added Kovacs. He stressed that the solution to the ethnic minorities problem did not mean a problem of changing the borders.

**Experts To Settle Disputes on Czech-Slovak Border***AU0811161993 Prague CTK in English 0009 GMT  
5 Nov 93*

[Text] Prague, Nov 4 (CTK)—Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml said today that the division of the former Federal Interior Ministry, involving property worth 10 billion crowns (about \$340 million), had been practically completed.

Ruml and his Slovak counterpart Jozef Tuchyna agreed in Prague on concrete forms of cooperation in fighting organized crime, and on the need to introduce the status of police attache at both diplomatic missions.

The Czech and Slovak Republics were recently admitted as members of Interpol.

Ruml said that unclear matters related to the Czech-Slovak border would be solved by a joint mixed group of experts from the Interior, Foreign, and Finance Ministries.

The group would be charged with drafting soon agreements on border crossings and on quick customs clearance in railway and road transport.

The two agreements, along with a clause to the treaty on visa-free relations, which will oblige foreigners from third countries to cross the border only at what are now customs crossings, would probably be signed on the same day, Ruml said.

[Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 6 November on page 8 carries a 300-word "hop"-signed report on the talks between the Czech and Slovak ministers of interior. The report includes the following passage: "Apart from one problem, there exist no disputes about where the

state border will be located, Slovak Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna declared during his visit to Prague in November. Minister Jan Ruml corrected his words somewhat: 'Originally, there were 15 disputed border sections, which we have managed to reduce to four. These should be settled until we meet again at Trenčianske Teplice in December.' According to our information, there really exist four localities that have been disputed during the talks on the future shape of the Czech-Slovak border: Kasarna, the Sidonie area, Vrbovce, and the territory around the Morava river near Breclav. Moreover, representatives of the Moravian village of Javornik addressed a petition to Minister Tuchyna, in which they ask to be annexed to the Slovak Republic."]

**Ethnic Germans Reject Sudeten Chairman's Criticism***AU0911212293 Prague CTK in English 1844 GMT  
9 Nov 93*

[Text] Prague Nov 9 (CTK)—The majority of ethnic Germans in the Czech Republic do not agree with statements made by Franz Neubauer, head of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft, in which he criticised the position of the German minority in the Czech Republic and accused Prague of not fulfilling the German-Czechoslovak agreement.

Neubauer made the statements at a session of the Sudeten German Parliament on November 6.

Rosemarie Knapova, chairwoman of the Czech Cultural Association of Citizens of German Nationality, told CTK today that the association stood firmly behind the ethnic policies of the Czech Government and agreed with the position taken by the Czech Foreign Ministry towards Neubauer's statements. The association, she said, is grateful for the broad support which it receives from the government.

Lothar Porsche, chairman of the Union of Germans in Liberec, North Bohemia, which together with 11 other regional unions comprises the Association of Germans in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, said he personally did not agree with Neubauer's remarks. His organisation has not yet made an official statement on the affair.

Foreign Ministry Spokeswoman Lucie Pilipova told CTK on Monday [8 November] that she saw no reason to comment on Neubauer's statements. The appropriate partner of the ministry for dialogue on the Sudeten German question, she said, was the German Government. President Vaclav Havel also refused to comment on the matter.

**Parliamentary Committee Discusses 1994 Army Budget***AU0911175393 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech  
5 Nov 93 p 3*

["(gag)"signed report: "The Army Will Barely Survive"]

[Text] "The idea that a smaller army would cost less is reminiscent of an old joke." This is what Deputy Defense Minister Miroslav Kalousek said when he explained the army's 1994 budget in the Defense and Security Committee yesterday. He said: If a ship can sail from Europe to America in two weeks, then this does not mean that two ships can cover the same distance in one.

According to the experts, the army's budget—amounting to 22.9 billion korunas [Kc]—is just enough for the army to survive. The Defense Ministry originally considered the sum of Kc42 billion, which was reduced to Kc30 billion after consultations with the Ministry of Finance, and then, in view of the economic possibilities of the state, cut to Kc26.8 billion. As Defense Minister Antonin Baudys said, this amount is just enough to secure the basic transformation of the army and to conduct the most essential exercises required for the defense of the country. There are no plans for modernization of weapons, or for extensive repairs of the army's technology, which, in many cases, is almost unfunctional. Housing facilities for soldiers will not be repaired, either. Some deputies, however, have objections against this budget and suggest that it be cut by another Kc10 billion.

Minister Baudys's unquestionable priority is to invest in information systems, communications, and the Rapid Deployment Unit. This unit will be provided with new weapons and its soldiers will be paid better.

#### Defense Minister 'Satisfied'

AU0911193393 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech  
6 Nov 93 p 1

[Interview with Defense Minister Antonin Baudys by Ferdinand Peroutka; in Prague on 4 November: "First Step Toward Compatibility With NATO"]

[Text] The recommendation by the Defense and Security Affairs Committee on the chapter of the budget dealing with the Ministry of Defense was preceded by an exhaustive debate. After the committee meeting, we asked the minister of defense:

[Peroutka] Are you satisfied with the draft budget for 1994 when you compare it with the amount that was allocated to your government department this year?

[Baudys] We have tried to reduce the army's needs to the minimum necessary for the its transformation, without jeopardizing its training and defense capability. If parliament approves the draft budget in this form, I will be satisfied. I say, of course, that it is a budget to secure the transforming army's bare survival. Compared with the funds that were allocated this year, the draft budget for 1994 provides for an increase in expenditure of approximately 4 billion korunas. However, we spend less than 2.3 percent of gross national income on military expenditure, which is less than had been foreseen in the original agreement.

[Peroutka] How much investment or non-investment money will be available to you next year to make our army compatible with NATO?

[Baudys] These funds are earmarked, essentially, for telecommunications equipment, the digitalized [French] ALCATEL communications system, and information systems. Short-wave radio stations for ground troops, including the rapid deployment brigade, are also involved. This can be regarded as the first step toward a certain compatibility with NATO in terms of logistics support. We avail ourselves, altogether, of some 450 million korunas for this purpose. The non-investment expenditure associated with training courses and work-and-study stints abroad is mostly covered by foreign organizers.

[Peroutka] The draft budget is based on the assumption that the number of career soldiers will decrease in the course of the year by approximately 800. Is this number too low, given the contemplated reduction of troop numbers by a third?

[Baudys] The troop reductions are accounted for predominantly by soldiers undergoing military service. This is the case because only between 50 and 70 percent of permanent positions for professional soldiers in army units are currently filled.

#### Klaus: French Model of NATO Role 'Inspiration'

AU0911125293 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech  
4 Nov 93 p 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Tomas Smrcek; place and date not given: "Vaclav Klaus Will Meet in Paris With President Mitterrand and Writer Kundera"]

[Excerpts] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus will pay a visit to France today. Prior to his departure, he replied to several questions from LIDOVE NOVINY. [passage omitted]

[Smrcek] France has a socialist president and a right-wing prime minister.

[Klaus] You are hinting at lack of political unity between the president and the prime minister and between the National Assembly and the Senate. My feeling is that, since the elections and the coming into office of the new government, this lack of unity has not been manifested in any striking way in French domestic policy. The Socialist Party is so disquieted by its electoral defeat that, for the time being, it is only cementing its ranks and has not launched any significant domestic political initiatives.

When we follow the foreign political scene, on the other hand, we will, of course, detect some differences. On the one side of France, Jacques Delors at the head of the EC Commission is striving for the implementation of

"Maastricht," and on the other side President Mitterrand, speaking in Vienna three weeks ago, proposed a federation of European states, which I must interpret as something different from the Maastricht project. Prime Minister Balladur will propose a new variant of the Conference on Security in Europe, which is an altogether different initiative again. Europe cannot handle three such initiatives, it can handle one of them at the most. Each initiative costs every statesman a tremendous amount of energy, time, and work. [passage omitted in which Klaus expresses pleasure at the opportunity to meet Czech writer Milan Kundera, who lives in Paris]

[Srnec] After your return from Bonn [reference to Klaus' participation in the International Bertelsmann Forum, held in Bonn on 24 October] you spoke about the French model of participation in NATO, which had been mentioned there by former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

[Klaus] Let us not overestimate this view. One section of the Bonn forum was devoted to security issues. There exists a whole range of proposals for transforming existing security structures, which require a number of intermediary steps. There is the standard proposal put forward by U.S. Defense Secretary Aspin and Kissinger's statement in Bonn on the French model option, that is, membership in NATO without the troops being subordinated to a united command. All these are ways in search of the necessary intermediary step toward transformation. Raising the idea of this specific French model, which was introduced by de Gaulle, really serves as an inspiration, also for myself.

#### Veterans Spokesman Denies Claims About U.S. Troops

AU1011072893 Prague CTK in English 1652 GMT  
9 Nov 93

[Text] Prague Nov 9 (CTK)—Reports in the press that some Czech veterans of the Persian Gulf conflict said U.S. troops had chemical weapons were dismissed as utter nonsense today by the spokesman for the Association of Persian Gulf Veterans, Peter Zelinsky.

No Czech or Slovak servicemen had seen American units with chemical weapons, he said. The veterans association wished to distance itself from the reports in case they gave rise to the impression that the Americans were hiding something and we discovered it, he said.

He confirmed that the Czechoslovak anti-chemical unit had detected traces of poison gas. But finding out where they were from was not our problem. We sounded the chemical alarm and our duties ended there, he said.

Zelinsky also dismissed press reports that the American Army had been given a sample of the poison gas sarin. He said that, from a technical point of view, it was practically impossible to keep sarin for two years. The

Czechoslovak unit had not had any samples and, therefore, would not have been able to give them anything, he said.

He denied that any health problems suffered by veterans had anything to do with the poison gas detected in the Gulf War. We were very well protected against that, he said, adding that a possible cause was the inability of some soldiers to adapt to the desert climate. He pointed out that Defence Minister Antonin Baudys had offered all veterans free medical checks for complaints apparently contracted on service in the gulf.

#### ODS Council Discusses Church Restitution

AU0911183593 Prague CTK in English 1847 GMT  
6 Nov 93

[Text] Potstejn, east Bohemia, Nov 6 (CTK)—The Executive Council of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) is disappointed by the statement prepared by three coalition partners (Civic Democratic Alliance—ODA, Christian Democratic Union—Czechoslovak People's Party—KDU-CSL, and Christian Democratic Party—KDS) on resolving the issue of the restitution of church property, ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus said during the council session here today.

The session, which began yesterday, will end today.

The ODS insists that all laws necessary to carry out the separation of church and state be prepared simultaneously, and in such a way so that the process of separation will be definitively resolved in the pre-established time frame, Klaus said.

He said that the council's statement recapitulated the basic principles and theses of the ODS on the resolution of this problem. The statement says that only state property may be returned to churches, or municipal property with the approval of the municipality. It reiterates the ODS view on economic property and rejects claims for damaged or destroyed property.

We are saying that it will be possible and necessary to privatize property not covered by this law without further limitation, Klaus said.

The ODS favors first of all the speedy resolution of questions concerning the state administration, and only then the fulfillment of the constitutionally established higher territorial administrative units, Klaus told journalists during the Executive Council meeting.

The Executive Council is convinced that it is not possible to yield to today's somewhat short-sighted, simplified, very specialized political pressure and at any price create these higher territorial units by the date set for local and senate elections in 1994, he said.

The ODS believes that it is necessary to carry out further steps in reforming the public administration so that the



organization of the higher territorial units is finished by the date set for parliamentary elections in 1996 at the latest, Klaus said.

#### Coalition Parties React

AU0911183793 Prague CTK in English 2046 GMT  
6 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 6 (CTK)—The law on alleviating several of the property grievances of the church is the starting point for resolving the relationship between church and state and should be passed as the first step, Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) Deputy Chairman Daniel Kroupa told CTK today.

Kroupa was responding to Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Chairman Vaclav Klaus' statements today concerning the ODS Executive Council's standpoint on this issue. Klaus said that the council's statement recapitulated the ODS' basic principles concerning this problem. The statement says that only state property may be returned to churches, or municipal property with the approval of the municipality. It reiterates the ODS view on economic property and rejects claims for damaged or destroyed property. Klaus said that it would be possible and necessary to privatize property not covered by this law without further limitation.

From the beginning, the ODA has held the opinion that the law on alleviating several of the church's property grievances should be based on the real needs of the church, and therefore the law should be based on agreement with them, Kroupa said.

He said the ODS seems to believe that the state will resolve this problem from a position of power and not of agreement. This approach appears very unfortunate to me, Kroupa stated.

The joint position of the other three coalition partners, the ODA, the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) and the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) on the question of restitution of church property was reached through compromise, Kroupa said. I am vexed that the ODS has not joined in this compromise.

The KDS agrees with the ODS that churches should not receive any financial compensation for damaged or destroyed property, Marek Benda, chairman of the KDS deputies' club, told CTK.

It is, however, necessary to discuss further the other issues proposed in connection with this restitution. Benda said he considered it incorrect to exclude municipal property from restitution or to return this property to churches only with the approval of the municipality.

#### Dailies Comment on ODS Executive Council Meeting

AU0911183993 Prague CTK in English 1002 GMT  
8 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 8 (CTK)—Under the title The ODS Against Everyone, Ivo Slavik in the independent LIDOVE NOVINY today considers the meeting of the Executive Council of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) in Potstejn in east Bohemia.

As for the ODS's cautious pace on the issue of the reform of the Czech Republic's regional administrative set-up, Slavik writes that the ODS electoral manifesto and government policy declarations do after all apply for the whole electoral term.

If the higher units have to be created by the end of the electoral term, nobody can say that the ODS has resigned on this point. It has simply realized the risks of overhasty reforms, he writes. He stresses that ODS Executive Deputy Chairman Petr Cermak announced at the close of the meeting that the ODS backs the creation of the upper tier of local government in accordance with the constitution. The ODS therefore does not cast doubt on the electoral manifesto or government policy declarations, he says.

If some things prove to be more complicated than they initially appeared, the ODS is, very sensibly, not trying violently to force them through. And it is not decisive for the Czech Constitution if it has been waiting for two or four years to be implemented, Slavik writes.

However, the ODS position in parliament will be difficult because the majority of coalition and opposition parties want the upper tier of local government to be created in time for the local elections next year. There will have to be some backstage lobbying and persuasion—within the ODS as well as outside it, the paper speculates. ODS Deputy Chairman Jiri Vlach said after the meeting that a certain group of deputies were not convinced by opposition arguments for a quick resolution to local government reform.

The decision of the Executive Council of the ODS does, however, leave enough room for maneuver in future bargaining sessions, the author notes.

A column by Robert Dengler in the left-leaning RUDE PRAVO today says: Shortly before the congress (scheduled for the end of November) the ODS has to some degree pledged that the senate will be in place in 1994, local government two years after that and that former church property will be returned in accordance with the present, only cosmetically adjusted standpoints.

It recalls that, before the ODS Executive Council meeting, Czech Prime Minister and ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus welcomed the proposal on restitution of church property made by the coalition parties and likened it to what the ODS itself had been suggesting for a

few months already. But after the Executive Council meeting Klaus was disappointed by the ideas of his partners, Dengler says.

A basic agreement that property cannot be returned to the church but only injustices can be mitigated is already on the table, the paper comments. Different interpretations of the so-called right of the user, however, play a decisive role in the affair, the paper believes. Almost insuperable disagreement also reigns in the matter of property once belonging to the church and now in community possession, it says.

The paper recalls the ODS desire that all laws necessary for the separation of the church from the state be drawn up at the same time. The question of how far restitution should go may also become a bone of contention. The coalition threesome is preparing for debate on the issue of other legal persons and emigres.

An indigestible mouthful for the remainder of the coalition, not to mention the opposition, is how the independent MLADA FRONTA DNES describes the second part of the ODS proposal on the country's future regional administrative arrangement. Columnist Petr Novacek notes that two coalition parties, the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA, with 14 seats) and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL, with 15 seats), are opposed to the establishment of the higher units of local government only by 1996, and thus side with the opposition against the ODS.

Most of the ODS deputies also think that the creation of the higher units cannot be delayed, the paper claims. Given such disharmony of views in the government ranks, the ODS's chances of gaining a three-fifths majority in parliament on its vision of local government reform are slim, Novacek comments.

### **Meciar Revises Government Proposal; Lexa Dropped**

*LD0911190193 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica  
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar put forward a new proposal for government personnel changes this afternoon. [passage omitted]

According to the press agency of the Slovak Republic, the prime minister's office decided to submit the new proposal on the basis of the public statement made by the president yesterday and after the prime minister held talks with Ludovik Cernak, the chairman of the Slovak National Party. The proposal submitted is identical to the one the prime minister put to the president last Friday, apart from one candidate. Prime Minister Meciar accepted President Kovac's objections to Ivan Lexa and in the new proposal he dropped his demand that Lexa be appointed to the post of minister for the administration and privatization of national property. According to him that post will be the subject of further coalition talks.

Proceeding from the president's approval of the other candidates submitted in the first proposal it can be expected that President Kovac will shortly appoint Jozef Prokes, Sergej Kozlik, Marian Anzel, and Julius Toth to the posts of deputy prime minister, with the last-named retaining the Finance Ministry post. Jan Ducky is to replace Jaroslav Kubecka as minister of economy, whom the prime minister proposed be recalled from that post. Jaroslav Paska is to become minister of education and science. This move means that Roman Kovac will no longer be in charge of that department. He will however remain in the post of Slovak deputy prime minister. [passage omitted]

### **Kovac Agreement Expected**

*AU101112093 Prague CTK in English 2143 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 9 (CTK)—In the next few hours, Slovak President Michal Kovac is expected to sign the appointment decrees for the four new deputy premiers of the Slovak Government, thus ending several weeks of behind-the-scenes political bargaining which in the last two days has almost reached the level of a constitutional crisis.

Although the coalition agreement between the governing Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS) adding 14 SNS parliamentary seats to HZDS' 66 was signed on October 19, it was not until last Friday that the two parties' leaders agreed on changes in the government, when HZDS Chairman and Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar sent a proposal for the composition of the cabinet to President Michal Kovac. However, on Monday [8 November] Kovac refused to approve the proposal in its entirety, saying he did not intend to appoint Ivan Lexa as privatization minister.

Meciar Replied today by withdrawing the whole proposal and announcing the start of new coalition talks. It looked as if there would be an acute clash between the premier and the president, whose deepening disagreements have been an open secret in the past few weeks.

Meciar today accused Kovac of breaking a personal promise, and said that Kovac was not disagreeing with Lexa's candidacy without reasons, but that the reasons were personal ones. On Monday Kovac had defended, with unusual vehemence, his constitutional right to make decisions on individual ministers, and called Lexa's nomination a slight on his person. Kovac had twice refused to appoint Lexa to important state functions in the past. Kovac also said that disagreement over one person should not be allowed to lead to political destabilization or to disturb the cohesiveness of the new coalition.

Meciar's disagreement with the president's attitude was seen by many observers as tantamount to a declaration of war. However, only a few hours later Meciar sent Kovac a new cabinet proposal, essentially the same as the one which Kovac had approved, but neither including Lexa's name nor proposing any other candidate for the position of privatization minister. This post is now to be the subject of further talks between the HZDS and SNS.

This small Bratislava storm resembles many others which have marked the political scene of the young Slovak Republic since the beginning of the year. However, this is the first time the president and the premier have publicly spoken out against each other. Observers judge their disagreement to be deeper still it is allegedly not just a question of differing political opinions, but of a deep personal antipathy.

Also of interest in this respect was the HZDS attack on Kovac for not speaking at Saturday's funeral of the late HZDS Deputy Chairman Roman Zelenay. The president defended himself just as strongly.

If Kovac appoints the new government members, as he seems certain to do, a cabinet will finally be able to form which will have the support of a parliamentary majority. Although many people predict its life will be short, it should bring a certain stability to the political scene, and whatever happens, will end the backstage coalition bargaining which according to most commentators has become unbearable at a time when Slovakia's unsolved economic problems are piling up.

### **Meciar Dismisses Criticism**

*AU1011121093 Prague CTK in English 0745 GMT 10 Nov 93*

[Text] Prague, Nov 10 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar dismissed on television last night criticism of his proposal for a reshaped government with five deputy premiers.



He claimed that five deputy premiers were quite common in the world.

His proposal, which resulted from the coalition talks between the HZDS (Movement For a Democratic Slovakia) and the SNS (Slovak National Party) was criticized both by Kovac and the opposition parties.

Meciar explained that Finance Minister Julius Toth (HZDS) was proposed deputy premier only because his Czech counterpart Ivan Kocarnik, he was conducting talks with, was also a deputy premier.

The SNS Honorary Chairman Jozef Prokes will be in his capacity of deputy premier in charge of the agreement on Slovakia's association with the European Union.

This way the position of Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik will not be changed because European integration exceeds the powers of the foreign ministry.

In his capacity as Deputy Premier, Sergej Kozlik (HZDS) will deal with the transformation of the whole economic system.

Marian Andel (SNS) will take over culture, education, science and physical education from the current single deputy premier Roman Kovac (HZDS).

Roman Kovac will be in charge of the transformation of social relations, ethnic minorities, agreements with churches and preparation of legal and technical conditions for journalists' work in Slovakia.

Meciar stressed that Slovak deputy premiers were indispensable.

He also said that the SNS had withdrawn its objections against Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcek after HZDS representatives explained how they respected him and appreciated his work.

As regards the HZDS caucus' criticism of President Kovac for his failure to speak at HZDS Deputy Chairman Roman Zelenay's funeral on November 5, Meciar only said that it is true. President Kovac rejected categorically the criticism on Tuesday [9 November].

#### **Meciar: Kovac Broke Promise**

*AU1011084493 Prague CTK in English 2200 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 9 (CTK)—Both the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS) consulted the original cabinet proposal with President Michal Kovac, who expressed his agreement with all the names on it, but then changed his mind without explanation, Premier Vladimir Meciar said on Slovak Television this evening, giving his standpoint in the dispute of the last two days concerning the proposal.

He said he had been assured by Kovac that he would approve the proposal en bloc. However, the president

had clearly changed his mind during his weekend talks with opposition parties, Meciar said, adding that he found it fairly strange that the president should discuss a coalition government with these parties.

Meciar stressed that the president had the right to change his standpoint and not to give reasons. However, given that all the candidates including Ivan Lexa whom Kovac refused to approve as privatization minister had the confidence of a parliamentary majority, and of the central bodies of both parties, Kovac should have explained why he did not accept Lexa.

Meciar said that his putting forward today of a new proposal without Lexa was a result of talks with SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak, and said he expected its approval to be unproblematic.

In Bratislava this evening it is expected that President Kovac will nominate the new members of the Slovak Government by Wednesday evening.

#### **Parties React to Dispute**

*AU0911211593 Prague CTK in English 1108 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 9 (CTK)—The opposition Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) believes Premier Vladimir Meciar wants to exploit the current deadlock in Slovak politics and put pressure on president Michal Kovac, KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky said on Slovak radio today.

The KDH thinks Kovac was right not to respect Meciar's wishes and not name Ivan Lexa privatization minister, and intends to support him. Carnogursky said nothing exceptional had happened and there was no need to dramatize the situation.

Slovak Radio said Chairman of the Democratic Left Party (SDL) Peter Weiss does not consider Kovac's decision a reason for various speculation. He believes the next step is simply to propose another candidate for the post.

Lexa was said to be surprised at not being appointed. He told the Slovak news agency TA SR Kovac's move was a settling of accounts from the time the two men worked together in the governing party, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS). He announced he would make a more detailed statement on Wednesday [10 November]. Till then he would wait and see whether Kovac presented any objective reasons for his decision.

Lexa is the present state secretary for the Ministry of Privatization.

Kovac told journalists last night that he did not have confidence in Lexa and could therefore not approve his nomination, after meeting Slovak National Party (SNS) Chairman Ludovit Cernak.

### Opposition Supports President

AU0911184593 Prague CTK in English 1502 GMT 7  
Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 7 (CTK)—The government has no right to place President Michal Kovac in a stressful situation, Chairman of the Alliance of Slovak Democrats Milan Knazko told Slovak Radio today.

Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar proposed to complete the government on condition that either the proposal consisting of six new appointments was taken together, or it would be withdrawn.

The government attaches to the personnel changes in the cabinet such importance as if Kovac's decision should play the role of a stabilizing or destabilizing factor, Knazko said.

Knazko, former foreign minister in Meciar's cabinet, left the governing Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) this March.

He said that he would firmly support the president so that he does not yield to these pressures.

Bela Bugar, chairman of the ethnic Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, called the new government proposal a clear case of blackmail.

If the coalition is based on acquiring new positions, as evidenced by the future deputy premiers, then the coalition will be short-lived, Bugar stated.

### SDL: Privatization Behind Dispute

AU0911183093 Prague CTK in English 1407 GMT 9  
Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava Nov 9 (CTK)—The political struggle in Slovakia is heavily influenced by the dispute over privatisation, chairman of the opposition Democratic Left Party (SDL) Peter Weiss told journalists today.

This is also behind the current speculations about the government composition, Weiss stated.

He claimed that if the Slovak Parliament adopted the amendment to the big privatisation law, submitted by the SDL, the powers of government and of the executive to handle the privatised property would be severely curbed.

He indicated that the speculation about the most important ministries arises from personal effort to participate in privatisation.

Juraj Plesnik, an SDL parliamentarian, pointed to the dangerous nature of the privatisation law amendment which had been submitted by the government. The draft increases in a very cunning way the position of the state bodies, in particular the government and Privatisation Ministry regarding the handling of property administered by the National Property Fund.

### Kovac Silence at Funeral Causes 'Disappointment'

AU1011065893 Prague CTK in English 2037 GMT 8  
Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava Nov 8 (CTK)—The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) has expressed its deep disappointment at Slovak President Michal Kovac's declining to speak at the funeral of Roman Zelenay, a man with whom he so closely cooperated within the former federal parliament as well as in the HZDS, Slovak Radio said today, quoting the HZDS Press Department.

In a statement, the HZDS thanked all citizens and organisations who offered their condolences.

Former state secretary in the Slovak Culture Ministry and HZDS deputy chairman was killed in a car accident on November 1. The state funeral on Friday, November 5, was attended by the Slovak president, the premier and other Slovak political leaders.

### Kovac: Criticism 'Inappropriate'

AU1011065993 Prague CTK in English 1524 GMT 9  
Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava Nov 9 (CTK)—Presidential Spokesman Anton Bodis today defended Slovak President Michal Kovac against Monday's [8 November] statement by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) in which the party expressed its deep disappointment at President Kovac's declining to speak at the funeral of Roman Zelenay.

Kovac expressed the closeness of his relationship with the late HZDS Deputy Chairman Roman Zelenay by a personal visit to his wife, Ingrid Zelenayova, by paying his last respects at the Slovak National Theatre, by his attendance at the burial at the Bratislava Crematorium and at the funeral reception, Bodis said.

Zelenay died in a car accident on November 1.

The president actually overstepped the boundaries of presidential protocol, because he considered Roman Zelenay his friend and a close colleague, says a statement given to CTK by Bodis.

Monday's statement by HZDS was, Bodis said, inappropriate with regard not only to the president, but above all with regard to the late Roman Zelenay.

Observers note the HZDS statement of disappointment is the second open display of the rift between the HZDS leadership and the president, the first being Premier Vladimir Meciar's attempt to have Ivan Lexa appointed minister of privatisation when Kovac had twice refused to appoint him to a high state function in the past.

**SNS Chairman Cernak Confirms Coalition Talks Ended***AU1011070893 Prague CTK in English 2051 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Bratislava Nov 9 (CTK)—Coalition talks between the governing Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS) have ended and it can be assumed that the new government will now come into existence, SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak told Slovak Television this evening.

Cernak said that the coalition was created in order to calm the situation in Slovakia and to lower the tension in society. The SNS worked hard for its creation, he said. We moved away from our original positions, made several steps in the direction of the HZDS—both the SNS as a party and myself as a person, Cernak said. He stressed that the SNS had never taken a position contrary to the Constitution or to the president, whom it respects.

**Meciar To Remain in Charge of Privatization***LD1011000593 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 2000 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by unidentified foreign correspondents; from the "Press Club" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Correspondent] Prime Minister, I would like to revert to the hottest topic. Prior to this program I talked to the president on the phone and he told us that tomorrow at about 1400 hours he should appoint new members of the government. There is the question of who will be minister for administration and privatization of national property. It is probably a question of further coalition talks. When will they take place?

[Meciar] It is not a question of further talks. I am the minister. The situation is not going to change. [Ivan] Lexa [state secretary at the Privatization Ministry] will do his job properly and fulfill his duties and the role of minister will be fulfilled by me. In this direction the president can make changes only if he gets proposals from me, but I have not made any. The candidate who at first had been accepted and then rejected without reason, in my view, has not passed [referring to Lexa's case]. It is difficult to predict how things will develop further in the talks because every personnel solution is based on the pyramid movement, that will be carried right down to the lower levels. This means, it involves state secretaries, heads of offices, down to the district levels. Changes in personnel solutions are important, it is true, but they are not decisive. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] What will the division of responsibilities be at the level of deputy prime ministers, and what is your opinion of their number?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] It is not rare to have five deputy prime ministers. The fact that the finance minister is at the same time being proposed for the post of a deputy premier is due to the fact that the lengthy talks on the division of [federal] property are still going on, and his partner on the Czech side is a deputy prime minister. Hence, Julius Toth remains as finance minister but his powers will those of a deputy prime minister. [passage omitted]

With the remaining four deputy prime ministers the division of labor will be as follows: Mr. Prokes will be responsible for the association agreement of the Slovak Republic with the EC. [passage omitted]

Sergej Kozlik will become another deputy prime minister, he will be in charge of the transformation of the whole economy. [passage omitted]

As for Mr. Anzel, he will be responsible for culture, education, science, and sport. Other areas [of social and scientific matters] will remain the responsibility of Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac. He will be given an additional responsibility for the transformation of social relations, for the policy on ethnic minorities, which is a vast basket of issues, he will be given additional responsibility to conclude agreements with the church. And at last, somebody will have to start implementing media policy with all the responsibility and at a high level [i.e. another task for Roman Kovac]. This policy will include both legislative and technical conditions for journalists's work in Slovakia. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] I have the impression that the role of Foreign Minister Moravcik will diminish. His is a very important role. Will Mr. Prokes from the Slovak National Party take over this role?

[Meciar] No, Mr Moravcik's position in the government is firm and it does not change. He remains as foreign minister.

European integration, however, is a broader concept than that of foreign affairs. We are facing the same situation as all the countries of the Twelve. They have ministers in charge of integration who only deal with EC-related matters. This means that Mr. Prokes will be in charge of association matters, matters of the EC economic space in cooperation with EFTA [European Free Trade Association], and the Visegrad four countries. This includes not only political matters, but the whole complex of economic and social relations. [passage omitted]

**Slovak Radio Says Meciar Met With Chernomyrdin***AU0911183193 Prague CTK in English 0835 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 9 (CTK)—Slovak premier met in Austria on Monday [8 November] with Russian Premier



Viktor Chernomyrdin, Slovak Radio has reported, referring to the Slovak news agency TA SR, which, in turn, credited a well-informed source.

The meeting was to have taken place near Schwechat Airport, radio said adding that nothing was known about the two premiers' talks.

It is supposed that the meeting was not planned beforehand and that its aim was an exchange of fundamental information on topical problems in Slovakia and Russia.

#### **Government Denies Meeting**

AU0911183393 Prague CTK in English 1151 GMT 9  
Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 9 (CTK)—The Slovak Government Press Office denied today the report by the Slovak news agency TA SR that Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar had met on Monday with Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin.

The report was taken over by Slovak Radio and CTK.

The Press Office is empowered to declare that the TA SR report is not based on truth, says the statement received by CTK.

According to TA SR, the meeting was to have taken place near Schwechat Airport.

#### **Government Expresses Interest in Euroregion Group**

AU0911184793 Prague CTK in English 2222 GMT 5  
Nov 93

[Text] Kosice, east Slovakia, Nov 5 (CTK)—The Slovak Government may revise its decision, stated in Debrecen, Hungary, in February, that Slovakia will be only an associate member of the Carpathian Euroregion, Kosice Mayor Rudolf Bauer said at a press conference today.

Bauer said his belief was based on the behavior of the deputy foreign minister at the fifth two-day meeting of the International Council of the Carpathian Euroregion, which ended here today.

The border areas of Poland, Ukraine, Hungary are full members of the Council, border areas of Slovakia and Romania are associate members.

Kosice also hosted a meeting of representatives of the regional trade chambers of the individual countries, representatives of regional television companies of Poland, Ukraine and Slovakia and the rectors of universities and colleges in the Euroregion area, who discussed cooperation.

Project coordinator Vasil Hudak of the U.S. Institute of East-West Studies emphasized the importance of the Euroregion as a model of cooperation in the ethnically mixed areas of postcommunist Europe.

He said the Council of Europe attached great importance to the cooperation achieved between the five neighboring states. It was also of importance to the new United States foreign policy, which the institute's president John Edwin Mroz had contributed to shaping.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 6 November on page 2, under the headline "Support for Carpathian Euroregion," carries the following TA SR report: "Julius Hauser, representative of the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, endorsed the Slovak Republic's full membership of the Carpathian Euroregion. As he said, the ministry attentively follows the activity of the Carpathian Euroregion, which, in his opinion, is in conformity with CSCE documents and, at the same time, implements the Council of Europe idea on the promotion of regional cooperation."]

#### **Meciar Cites Improvement in Economy**

AU101111493 Prague CTK in English 0925 GMT 10  
Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 10 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said last night that Slovakia's economy was not worse than any other comparable one, including the Czech.

Speaking in a television program called "Press Club," he said that Slovakia had succeeded in stabilizing foreign markets and substantially improving its foreign trade balance. In 1989 it exported 12 percent of its output to Western markets, while now the figure is 55 percent.

Meciar said that the Slovak crown was now, after devaluation, stable. The rate of inflation is about 16 percent and the danger of hyperinflation has been staved off. The unemployment rate has averaged 13 percent for about one year, Meciar said and added: Next year we expect economic decline to be stopped.

He said that Slovakia had inherited from the Czechoslovak Federation not only good, but also bad things. He gave as example an enterprise debt of more than 80 billion Slovak crowns (about \$2.4 billion). The pace of economic reforms differed in the Czech Republic and Slovakia already under the federation.

The negative consequences of devaluation of the Czechoslovak crown in 1990 were felt particularly in Slovakia, Meciar said without elaborating.

Foreign partners were first heading for the Czech Republic only, but they have been gradually finding their way to Slovakia as well. Germans, Austrians and Americans have of late been followed ever more frequently by Japanese and Arabs. There are also good prospects for economic cooperation with Ukraine and Russia, Meciar said.

He said the slowing down of the privatization process had been his government's shortcoming, but it was necessary in order to bring the process and its method into harmony with Slovakia's needs.

Another problem is the slow pace of enterprise debt write-off, the planned new territorial arrangement and decentralization of state administration have been delayed. But mistakes and shortcomings fortunately do not exceed the positives in the government's work, Meciar said.

#### **Moravcik: Minority Issue Poses Security Risk**

*AU0911185193 Prague CTK in English 1612 GMT 5 Nov 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 5 (CTK)—The minorities question poses a certain risk for security in Europe, Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik said today on his return from the Strasbourg meeting of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

Speaking on Slovak Radio, he said Slovakia had a program and a conceptual solution to the problem and his trip to Strasbourg and London (where he met the British foreign secretary and spoke in the Royal Institute for International Affairs) had served as an opportunity to explain the concept.

At the Committee of Ministers meeting on November 3, he said Bratislava could, if need be, become a meeting place for members of the Committee on the Protection of Minority Rights. However, he opposed at this stage the signing of any bilateral agreements intended to solve these problems.

He proposed that it would be useful to draw up a global study on how minority rights are respected in Central Europe. Thence it would be possible to proceed to the signing of bilateral accords among other things, he said.

#### **SNS Deputy To Resign From Parliamentary Club**

*AU0911194193 Prague CTK in English 1022 GMT 8 Nov 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 8 (CTK)—In an interview with the trade union daily PRACA, parliamentary deputy Vladimir Miskovsky says that even though he is a founding member of the Slovak National Party (SNS), it is difficult for him to remain in the party. He is convinced that by having changed its tactics in the coalition talks with the HZDS the party has lost face and that it has triggered its political decline.

The SNS has not been taking stands on essential problems for a long time. We are not capable of telling the nation that the Slovak Republic's government is headed by a man because of whom various maneuvers on the

political scene are being made and that there is a much easier solution to the situation—to reach agreement without him.

Further complications will emerge if the HZDS policy fails. This will also sweep away the SNS which has removed from political influence those politicians who had created its program and who had determined its policy in most difficult periods.

Miskovsky says he is leaving for the Group of Independent Deputies and predicts that other SNS deputies will follow suit. Thus Meciar will no longer have the dreamed-of two-thirds majority, but merely an absolute majority. If some politicians leave the SNS, the party will face the threat of a merger with the HZDS, Miskovsky warns.

The SNS chairman, Ludovit Cernak, is now faced with a personal dilemma. As a chairman he cannot just slam the door shut and leave. But if he decides to follow the group which has put the SNS into Meciar's mercy, he will be lost as a politician. He has one more option—to convoke an extraordinary congress and resign from the post of chairman. In that case he could return to politics, Miskovsky says.

#### **Police Recover 200 kg of Stolen Semtex**

*AU1011103993 Bratislava SME in Slovak 6 Nov 93 p 1*

[CTK report: "The Police Found 200 Kilograms of Stolen Semtex"]

[Text] Bratislava—More than 200 kg of the 900 kg of Semtex that were stolen at Rajec, Zilina district, in October, were found by the police in a parked car in Galanta [western Slovakia] one day before the Zlyna company, from which the Semtex had been expropriated, reported the theft. This was stated by Jozef Satek, commander of the Regional Office of Investigations in Bratislava.

According to Satek, the police were alerted to the car with Semtex by a woman who had watched suspicious-looking persons move around the parked vehicle. While searching the car, the police found 200 kg of Semtex. According to information available to the police, this plastic explosive originates from the theft in Zilina district, Jozef Satek said.

The persons who committed the theft and the circumstances under which 200 kg of Semtex got into the parked car are not yet known, Jozef Satek said, adding that neither the plan to sell the Semtex abroad nor some other motive for the theft can be ruled out.

**Government Considers Presenting New Media Bill**  
*AU0811191193 Budapest MTI in English 1744 GMT 8 Nov 93*

[Text] Budapest, 8 Nov (MTI)—In a move to settle the media affair, the government may try a new bill on public broadcasting. Speaker Gyorgy Szabad told Monday's session of Parliament. Quoting a letter Prime Minister Jozsef Antall sent him on November 6, Szabad said the government did not back deputies, initiatives which it said provided only partial solutions to the media law and the related law on appointment. With this letter, Szabad said, he got Antall's answer to President Arpad Goncz's letter on the situation current in Hungarian Television and Hungarian Radio. (Antall's answer was covered today by MTI's news service in English.) [see referent item]

For the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD), Peter Hack said that the bill his party offered was a comprehensive rather than partial solution for the media affair. He recalled that the governing parties had also rejected the former media bill.

Replying to this, Imre Konya, Hungarian Democratic Forum parliamentary head, said that the deputies of the governing parties voted against the bill because the opposition stubbornly rejected provisions which would have required a two-thirds majority. "A law approved that way would have been just a torso," Konya said.

**Democratic Forum, Christian Democrats View Elections**

*AU0911083593 Budapest MTI in English 0757 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Budapest, 9 November (MTI)—Hungary's ruling coalition builds its political philosophy on the Christian-conservative and Christian democratic principles that prevail in most Western European countries today. The European integration process will be best guaranteed if the country continues to have a government coalition organized along Christian-conservative lines even after elections in 1994, reads the position paper issued from the joint session of the acting presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) and the acting presidium of the Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP) on Monday [8 November] evening.

The two bodies believed that a largest possible voter turnout would help assertion of the nation's will after next year's elections. Recent Eastern European events show that abstention from voting has resulted in left-wing advances, the document says.

At a news conference after the session, KDNP Chairman Laszlo Surjan said that as both the KDNP and the MDF wanted to run for the 1994 elections separately, there was no talk about any future electoral coalitions. At the same time, there was a natural intellectual link between the two parties, he added.

Regarding relationships between the MDF and the KDNP, acting MDF Chairman Sandor Lezsak stressed MDF's interest in a strong Christian Democratic People's Party entering elections in 1994. He agreed that the close intellectual link between the two parties works as a natural alliance in the coalition.

Lezsak explained Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's absence from the meeting by his receiving further after-treatment. Antall presently works 12-14 hours a day, but performs his duties at home for the time being, Lezsak added.

**KDNP's Csepe Views Party's Policies**

*AU0911183693 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Nov 93 p 19*

[Interview with Bela Csepe, parliamentary group leader of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], by Erno Balogh and Lajos Pogonyi; place and date not given: "Whoever Sees Us Gray Is Color-Blind—Bela Csepe, KDNP Parliamentary Group Leader on the Media, Coalition, and Relations Between State and Church"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [NEPSZABADSAG] Let us turn to the media issue! The "Egyenleg" [Balance, news program] was cancelled on television. Has the membership of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] now calmed down?

[Csepe] I cannot speak for the membership, but it is public knowledge that the KDNP was one of the first to demand the replacement of the media chairmen.

[NEPSZABADSAG] You demanded a Hungarian "media," if we remember correctly.

[Csepe] We can put it this way. In essence, we want media that are not antagonistic toward the Christian national forces but that are unbiased at the same time. We did not expect them to be biased toward us, but our membership has always felt that we were at a disadvantage compared with others. This is the reason we demanded the changes. Since then, a process has started and the situation has improved. The recent measures have to be seen as part of this process. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Tell me, please, to what extent is the government coalition still in control of the situation in the media? How true are the statements that recent events serve as a preparation for some kind of extreme right-wing coup?

[Csepe] They are not true at all. As a matter of fact, many of Csurka's [chairman of the Hungarian Way Movement and leader of Hungarian Justice and Life Party, the MIEP] demands in connection with the media are justified, but the problems are mainly with the wording because these do not fit in with the Christian and national efforts. This is why we do not work together with the Hungarian Justice and Life Party. Although we



also put some of their program points on our banner, we, being faithful to Christian values, represent them with dignity. For example, we never go as far as exclusions.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What other programs should also be reformed, as it were, or changed? The "168 Ora" [168 hours] or the "Gondolat-jel" [cultural program on radio]?

[Csepe] In my view, any form of programs can be kept. The main point is that there should be more faithfulness to the truth in them. The welcome changes that have already been started should be continued. I would not like to favor either side. I am in the center and I condemn every kind of exclusion, and only support the truth. This is dictated by the Christian value system. Accordingly, I do not consider my political opponents as enemies, either. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Recently, [KDNP Deputy Parliamentary Group Chairman] Miklos Gaspar said that if the outcome of the elections made it necessary and if the programs could be reconciled, then you would be able to enter into a coalition with the Liberals. In your view, what is common in the programs of the KDNP and the Liberals?

[Csepe] In his interview, Gaspar referred to a theoretical possibility. We cannot yet talk about this in more concrete terms at the moment. Especially not if, as is the case, our current political opponents are the point in question. However, after the elections, if it is required in the nation's interest, and if we do not have to give up any of our basic ideas and principles, then cooperation with the Liberals would not be excluded. Therefore, for the time being, we hold the view that we do not want to enter into a coalition with any of the opposition parties. We would like to carry on with the current setup. I do not expect the KDNP to win the elections on its own. However, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] will not either, so a coalition will again be needed. However, we would like to participate in the new coalition with more consideration.

[NEPSZABADSAG] You are very noticeably distancing yourselves from the MDF nowadays. Has this alliance become awkward for you as the elections approach?

[Csepe] It has not become awkward. In the view of the majority of our membership, remaining in the coalition is in the national interest, because it serves the country's economic and political stability. Remaining in the coalition cannot harm the party.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Do you also accept the responsibility that goes with this? Not so long ago, you called yourselves an internal opposition.

[Csepe] However, this is a special kind of opposition. It has the intention to improve things, as if we were "Her Majesty's Opposition."

[NEPSZABADSAG] The prime minister did not interpret this in quite the same way when in an interview he categorically refused this type of opposition.

[Csepe] For us, the coalition partnership is not depressing at all. However, we would like to express our independence through marching on our own up to the elections. This does not at all mean that we would want to give up the coalition, because this would only harm the country's interests. Therefore, we will not pretend that we have not at all taken part in it. Naturally, it also has to be known that we have a limited role because it is impossible to implement all our ideas with a 24-member parliamentary group.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Does this mean that your responsibility can only be limited?

[Csepe] Naturally. We will make this clear during the campaign. We will tell people what we had intended and what we managed to achieve. We cannot accept responsibility for all the government's measures.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Can you mention any concrete examples? Is privatization one of them?

[Csepe] It was not I who said this. We have always criticized privatization because, among other things, it is not public, efficient, or professional enough. We cautioned our coalition partners lest privatization strayed onto a path that is not good for the country. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Recently, Ivan Vitanyi, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party's [MSZP] National Committee, said in an interview that he could think of working together with the KDNP on the basis of Christian-social values. Is this your view, too?

[Csepe] In my view, Vitanyi might have meant that they would be able to work together with us along Christian-social values. The opposition also has valuable people who know that huge possibilities lie in the Christian principles. I believe this is the reason that the Believers' Section was formed in the MSZP. I can only welcome this. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Let us return to the issue of the coalition. Zoltan Gal, the MSZP's Parliamentary Group leader, recently told NEPSZABADSAG that "we do not want to be some kind of vermiform appendix to any government. We do not want to play the role of the KDNP."

[Csepe] This is a strong exaggeration and not a very nice comparison. If by this Gal meant that we play a subordinate role in the government as some kind of underling, then I reject this.

[NEPSZABADSAG] It is also said that you abuse this situation.

[Csepe] We use it, rather than abuse it.

[NEPSZABADSAG] According to some, you also blackmail the government.

[Csepe] No, we are not in the habit of blackmailing; we use arguments.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Now that Minister Tibor Fuzessy, who supervises national security issues, comes from your party, do you have a better overview of national security matters as was hoped for by Miklos Gaspar?

[Csepe] The KDNP does not have any kind of better overview of the area in question. Nor did we want anything like this. This is nonsense. Fuzessy is not this kind of person. Gaspar's words were mistaken at the time.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How can Christian forgiveness be reconciled with the law on the provision of justice also strongly demanded by Gaspar?

[Csepe] Forgiveness exists, but first we have to know whom we want to forgive. At the same time, forgiveness is not selective. It follows from Christian principles that those who commit atrocious crimes have first to be exposed. Forgiveness is an obligation of all Christian people, but we must not evade the provision of justice on earth. At the same time, we do not want to hang or torture anyone. There is a big social need to uncover the crimes of the past. We are not inquisitors and we do not want revenge on anyone. Criminals also have to be treated as human beings.

[NEPSZABADSAG] This is reassuring. When the justice process begins, will it be possible to keep it under control?

[Csepe] Completely. There will not be any excesses. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Does the fact the the KDNP is the only party that defines itself as being based on ideology limit its room for maneuver in parliament?

[Csepe] In my view, it does not. Rather, it actually makes us more marked. The KDNP has not yet made use of the huge possibilities provided by the Christian value system.

[NEPSZABADSAG] It is often said that the KDNP is a gray party.

[Csepe] I always protest against this. I usually say that he who sees us as gray is colorblind. It is a fact that we do not want to be in the limelight but we would like to be energetic. Jesus Christ also went to Jerusalem on a donkey. [passage omitted]

### **Smallholders' Head Views Current Domestic Situation**

AU0811092893 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Nov 93 p 5

[Interview with Jozsef Torgyan, chairman of the Independent Smallholders' Party, by Sara Szeli; place and date not given: "Jozsef Torgyan's Letter to Arpad Goncz—Who Has the Philosopher's Stone?"]

[Text] Jozsef Torgyan, national chairman of the Smallholders' Party [FKgP], has a bitter view about the current Hungarian real situation. He regards as catastrophic not only the media, but also the situation of the whole Parliament. He understands the illness and absence of the prime minister, but he feels that, even if everything were all right in Hungary, to govern from afar is still a difficult task. Therefore, on behalf of his party, Jozsef Torgyan sent an open letter to President Aprad Goncz.

[Szeli] What made it necessary to write this open letter? Is it indeed necessary to sound the alarm bell?

[Torgyan] The present chaotic situation, the helplessness of the leadership, the rapid decrease in the living standard of the population, the huge number of unemployed people, the constantly decreasing family income, the considerable areas of uncultivated agricultural land, and the deliberate ruination of factories and mines generate great alarm among Hungary's population. We believe that the president's responsibility has come to the fore, all the more so because he holds the only possible means of reducing social tensions, namely the urgent holding of parliamentary elections. This is his constitutional right and responsibility. We would like the new Parliament to take office in accordance with the constitutional rules on 2 May 1994. In other words, the first round of parliamentary elections should be held in the middle of March at the latest, so that the population can already see that it has a hope of finally getting rid of misery and state-party governing, and to create its own prosperity.

[Szeli] What does the FKgP suggest in this situation?

[Torgyan] First of all, a reduction of government expenses, the introduction of equal burdens, the elimination of black incomes, the reduction of inflation, and the introduction of an economy- friendly credit policy. In addition, I regard as extremely important the elimination of the useless bureaucratic measures in state administration and the reorganization of the complex administration of justice into a simpler but much tougher and more efficient administration.

[Szeli] Regarding the media affair, what would you regard as the most tangible solution?

[Torgyan] There has not been any objective information in Hungary for even a second, and the communists and post-communists are fighting. The full assertion of the freedom of the press is the guarantee of all human rights. Therefore, we are against any exclusion, even if it

involves the written or electronic media that slanders us. For us, multilevel information is important.

### State Secretary Speaks on MDF Election Strategy

AU0811160293 Budapest MTI in English 2111 GMT 5 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 5 November (MTI)—State Secretary at the Hungarian Prime Minister's Office Tamas Katona at a Friday [5 November] evening forum of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] national-populist circle did not speak about the originally scheduled topic of "our picture of the next coalition government," because, as he said, the MDF can only make a commitment knowing the results of the 1994 general elections.

He added a "forcible coalition" may be formed because, in his view, the most likely case is that neither the socialists, nor the liberals, or the MDF will be able to gain absolute majority. The MDF will concentrate its "fire" at the socialists and the free democrats, Katona said.

Speaking about preparations for the elections, he said the MDF headquarters was right in recognizing that the party should be organized as a western-type European party. He said if candidates concentrate everywhere on solving local problems and will have enough faith, the MDF may win 20 percent or even more at the general elections.

About the tense situation in the television and the radio, Katona said, "there is press freedom in this country. The government does not have to do anything at the moment because any step would only be disturbing now, making everyone feel uncertain. When hysteria is over, we can think about whether there is anything to do in radio or television."

### FIDESZ' Orban Reacts to Deputy's Resignation

AU0511175293 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 4 Nov 93 p 4

[Interview with Viktor Orban, chairman of the Federation of Young Democrats, by Attila Farkas; place and date not given: "Viktor Orban: Personally I Am Sorry, and Politically I Regard This As Unfortunate"]

[Text] Viktor Orban received Gabor Fodor's letter of resignation on 3 November. We asked Viktor Orban about the affair and the expected developments.

[Farkas] How do you evaluate Gabor Fodor's resignation? Did the deputy chairman's decision surprise you?

[Orban] Personally, I am sorry about this, and politically I regard it as unfortunate, mainly because, intellectually, Hungarian politics are not in a position to allow any capable person from any party to step down. Reading Gabor Fodor's statement, I understand that he left not only the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] but all of Hungarian politics. It is not easy to accept this.

Besides, the news surprised me because I did not expect this to happen. Nor did I believe the rumors about this, and I did not take Gabor Fodor's hints too seriously either. Especially after the party's national committee meeting last weekend, when he came up with the formulation of another political trend for the first time. I thought that, given the fact that 30 percent of the committee voted in favor of this formulation, the debate on the alternative he formulated would now begin within the party.

[Farkas] You said over the weekend that, as a rational party chairman, you do not expect anyone's resignation. Now Gabor Fodor has resigned.... Do you expect others to also follow his example?

[Orban] I tried to avoid such guesswork and, at a joint meeting of the FIDESZ executive committee and parliamentary group held two weeks ago, I brought this subject up to the people who were running for various positions. Only two people, namely Gabor Fodor and Peter Molnar, failed to give a clearcut answer; the others said that they did not have the slightest intention of leaving the FIDESZ.

[Farkas] In your opinion, to what extent will Gabor Fodor's resignation weaken the FIDESZ's public standing?

[Orban] I cannot yet answer this question, because Gabor Fodor just announced his decision a few hours ago. It is difficult to forecast the public's reaction. In addition to the fact that I find it personally difficult to accept, this resignation will also cause a lot of problems for me in my work. I would like to remind the readers that my task is to coordinate the preparations for government activity and, as the head of the educational cabinet, designate minister, and chairman of the human rights committee of the parliament, Gabor Fodor has many tasks to fulfill. These tasks will also have to be carried out in the future....

[Farkas] Will Fodor's resignation affect the cooperation between the FIDESZ and the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]?

[Orban] It will not affect it at all. The FIDESZ has an agreement with the SZDSZ and this agreement was reached between two political organizations, not between private persons. These political organizations still exist and the FIDESZ does not intend to revise this agreement. FIDESZ continues to regard the cooperation of the liberal bloc as the key element in Hungarian domestic policy.

[Farkas] Gabor Fodor said that his decision was also a warning for his party which, in his opinion, "has headed in the wrong direction." Is Fodor's criticism that the FIDESZ is heading in a conservative-liberal direction and that the principles and values represented by Fodor are not needed in the party justified?



[Orban] I see things differently. The FIDESZ is not heading in any right-wing or conservative-liberal direction. The FIDESZ is just as it used to be. Especially since the congress held in Debrecen where I was elected chairman and our program was adopted, people from both the left and the right have been trying to push the FIDESZ in various directions but, in my opinion, they do not succeed in this. I have a mandate to represent the program adopted in Debrecen, and I am not willing to give in to any outside pressure. If internal pressures emerge and official decisions emerge that urge us to institute changes, this will naturally have to be debated. Gabor Fodor made precisely such a proposal. This was the first time that a trend emerged that could have been debated in the party. Gabor Fodor cannot make use of this opportunity; only those who supported him at the executive committee meeting can make use of this.

[Farkas] Do you not think that the FIDESZ got closer to the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] while strongly distancing itself from the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], parties that are usually mentioned in the right and the left? In other words, the balance moved toward the right....

[Orban] I think that the FIDESZ continues to represent the same interests as before. The spirit and values of the FIDESZ Congress in Debrecen do not differ from those formulated by the FIDESZ at its inception. Only some of the emphasis has been modified because of the changes that have taken place in this country. We are in the same place as we used to be, only other parties are trying either to get closer to us or to distance themselves from us.

[Farkas] Could the balance not shift in either direction?

[Orban] In my opinion, no. This cannot happen also because of reasons of party regulations. The program adopted in Debrecen clearly says that the FIDESZ must endeavor to create a liberal bloc and we must not cooperate either with the conservatives (the MDF) or the MSZP before the elections.

#### **Fur Replies to Criticism of Letter to Transylvania**

*AU0911183493 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Nov 93 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Storm in Romania Over A Fur Letter—According to the Hungarian Defense Minister, People Should Work for Rapprochement"]

[Text] According to reports from Bucharest, a spokesman for the Romanian president again mentioned Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur's letter to the meeting of the Transylvanian Federation held in Eger. According to the spokesman, the letter "contradicts the guarantees that Hungary does not strive for territorial revisions against Romania."

Lajos Fur was invited to this meeting by Agoston Szekelyhidi, chairman of the Transylvanian Federation, and

addressed the letter to Agoston Szekelyhidi. In connection with the Romanian accusations, Agoston Szekelyhidi asked MTI to publish the letter and his own statement. He said that Fur agreed to have his letter published.

Lajos Fur's letter says the following: "We cannot stop, even for a moment, following with great concern the fate of Hungarians living beyond our borders, be they living east, north, south, or west of our borders. I am convinced that preserving our brothers' Hungarian national identity, brothers who were cut off from the mother nation by force, is one of the key issues of the survival of our nation hit by numerous blows. The implementation of this great national goal requires a steady and persistent struggle. I think that, in the current international situation, we must focus our efforts on the creation of conditions. We must jointly achieve changes on many issues, including education, economics, culture, and others. I think that today we must focus our efforts on creating the broadest possible autonomy for the 1,000-year-old Magyarom living beyond our borders. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the Hungarians living within the forced framework of the Romanian, Slovak, Serbian, and other states represent a state-founding factor. Therefore, these Hungarians have the right to territorial autonomy in places where they form a majority, and to personal autonomy in places where they form a national minority, on the basis of the principle of self-government. I would like to point out that, in harmony with our international obligations, we are not striving for a forceful modification of the borders in the course of achieving our goals. We regard the peaceful way of negotiations as the only way to settle conflicts"—Fur wrote.

In connection with all this, Agoston Szekelyhidi said that, in his opinion, the content of Fur's letter is fully in harmony with the decisions of the latest summit of the Council of Europe held on 10 October.

In connection with the letter, we asked Fur's opinion. He said the following: "It has often happened that some passages of my speeches or declarations have been taken out of context in a biased way. This letter also clearly shows not only what we are striving for but also what we do not intend to do. The connection of autonomy with collective rights is an increasingly modern concept all over the world. This is definitely not connected with any intention concerning border revisions on our part; on the contrary: It clearly transpires from the text of my letter that we regard every international agreement as obligatory for us, including the stipulations of the Helsinki Agreement regarding the borders. I would also like to mention that everything that I wrote earlier too, including my previous scientific activity, reflected the intention for rapprochement, and I started my activity as defense minister in this spirit too. This is how we signed our first defense agreement with Romania, which was then followed by agreements signed with other neighboring countries"—the statement ends.

**Socialists Present Economic Policy Plan***AU0511212793 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Nov 93 pp 1,12*

[Interview with Laszlo Bekesi, former finance minister and member of the Hungarian Socialist Party, by Miklos Merenyi; place and date not given: "We Already Wanted To Accelerate the Economy in the Eighties"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Merenyi] When the paid advertisement for the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] appeared in the newspapers in August this year, it seemed that there were different opinions within the party regarding the articles on welfare measures. To what extent can we regard this current document as the entire economic program of the MSZP?

[Bekesi] Naturally, this document cannot yet be regarded as the election program of the MSZP. This is a professional document that has already been debated at various fora and it has won the support of the majority. Now comes the phase in which we must formulate a clear political program out of this document, one that we can present to the voters. [passage omitted]

[Merenyi] If not an election program, then what is the purpose of the document?

[Bekesi] It partially serves as the basis of our political program currently under preparation. It can also be the basis of possible coalition negotiations, and it can show whether our party's economic policy goals are close to those of our potential coalition partners or not. It can also serve as the basis of the economic policy chapter of the government's program. This is why this is basically a professional document and not a political one.

[Merenyi] From the outset, it is clear that, unlike other parties, you stress crisis management and putting the economy in order; you subordinate economic growth to these goals. Why?

[Bekesi] Every responsible political factor in Hungary today must take into consideration the real situation, namely that the so-called economic success indicators of the past two years have turned on their heads; in other words, they were not based on lasting economic growth.

[Merenyi] As former finance minister, do you regard as acceptable the oft-mentioned claim that our economy is now in a worse state than at the time when the Nemeth cabinet handed it over?

[Bekesi] This is not a matter of opinion. Every serious macro-economic indicator shows that the state of our economy today is indeed worse than at that time. Economic performance is smaller, the balance indicators are worse, and tensions are higher. The decreasing level of inflation has turned around, domestic state debt has doubled, and domestic savings are no longer covering the budget deficit. Thus, a new net debt increase has started. The current balance of payments deficit is deteriorating

to such an extent that the active transactions of the additional capital investment no longer cover this deficit.

According to my own accounting, our net debts will increase by at least \$2.5 billion this year. The balance has deteriorated to such an extent that it could soon endanger Hungary's solvency. Our hard currency reserves of \$5 billion are praiseworthy, but they could evaporate in a moment if the increase in the deficit does not stop.

These are facts, and I think that they clearly show that the macro-positions of our economy are worse today, the breaking points have narrowed, and the crisis is deeper than in 1990. [passage omitted]

[Merenyi] Is it possible that this economic policy is realistic but one cannot see the breaking points?

[Bekesi] It is essential to determine the goals clearly in order to show the breaking points.

I see six main goals. First, the rehabilitation of the state budget, namely carrying out the oft-mentioned reform. Strongly connected with this is the need to make order in the commercial banks, which means banking consolidation, increasing capital, and privatization, connected with a new privatization strategy free from political elements. Compensation should be discontinued, and privatization should be open to domestic and foreign investors. Domestic demand, if there is such a thing at all, must be increased even by favorable credits, but not by some kind of distribution to citizens.

The fourth task is to revitalize our agricultural sector. Unfortunately, in this crisis situation, it is impossible to avoid the role of the state in this.

The fifth goal is to diversify our foreign trade. One cannot base an open economy solely on the European Community on the long term. Therefore, we must rebuild some of our Eastern-Central European markets, even with exchange of goods and barter at the beginning, as well as with international constructions used in the EBRD. The sixth goal is to develop our infrastructure, including the development of transportation, tourism, and trade based on concessions. [passage omitted]

[Merenyi] You can hardly achieve your goal of putting the state budget in order without reducing central welfare expenditure. What would the MSZP do about welfare expenditure?

[Bekesi] Irrespective of the various effects of an economic boom, we should guarantee the long-term supply of basic and middle-level education, health, and welfare. Obviously, there will be big debates on what the basic services mean. However, one cannot avoid these professional and trade union debates.

There is another area that the government admits is necessary, but cannot supply free of charge. At most, the government can partially support it with contributions.

This is a wide circle of services, including higher education, settlement development, science, culture, research, and sports.

The third area, and the most painful one, is when the government has to say that it cannot provide financial support at all. If there is demand for this, it works; if not, it does not. This includes local government services and economic services, as well as a series of other things.

[Merenyi] The area of welfare expenditure is the largest "uncovered" item. What do you suggest in connection with this?

[Bekesi] There is no doubt whatsoever that citizens' allowances that greatly exceed our economic performance cannot be maintained.

[Merenyi] What is your opinion about family allowances, which is one of the most serious elements of the central budget expenditure?

[Bekesi] In connection with the family allowances, we must probably cease payment of these allowances above a certain level of family income; this is a step backward, but it is still a more honest solution than everyone getting the same allowance. [passage omitted]

#### Foreign Investment Statistics Detailed

AU0811160893 Budapest MTI in English 1100 GMT 8 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 8 Nov (MTI)—A total of 178 Hungarian companies invested the foreign exchange equivalent of 1 billion forints abroad in the first half of this year, bringing the total to some 11 billion forints or \$110 million in about 1,200 companies, the deputy state secretary at the Ministry of International Economic Relations, Mrs. Gyula Nemeth, told a conference on Friday.

Almost \$6 billion in foreign capital has been invested in Hungary. The figures on Hungarian investment abroad are rough estimates based on the permits granted by the Ministry of International Economic Relations (MIER) and the Ministry of Finance, Mrs. Nemeth said.

In 1991, 367 Hungarian companies invested 2 billion forints abroad, while last year 400 companies invested 2.2 billion forints abroad, MIER figures show. In 1990-1991, the bulk of Hungarian foreign investment went to developed countries, with Germany and Austria heading the list. However since 1992, 80 percent of Hungarian investment has gone to the former COMECON countries, particularly Russia and Ukraine, the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

While the number of Hungarian investments in Germany decreased from 45 in 1991 to 13 in the first half of this year, the average amount of the investment rose slightly, to 5.6 million forints. In addition to the area of trade and services, some companies were involved in engineering and construction work.

As a result of legal obstacles restricting these companies from being involved in manufacturing in Austria, most of the Hungarian companies based there are involved in trade, with an average investment of 3 million-4 million forints. The number of new companies has fallen sharply since 1992.

In Eastern Europe, the typical investment sum is less than 1 million forints. The number of permits for investment in the CIS countries jumped from 19 in 1990 to 133 last year, with another 81 permits issued in the first half of this year. About 100 joint ventures were established in Romania in 1992, while 230 were established in the former Czechoslovakia. Hungarian firms need a permit from the MIER and the Ministry of Finance to invest abroad. Although financial investment is not ruled out by law, permits are only usually issued for direct capital investment. Although the permits are issued under a now outdated 1975 ministerial order, the attitude to the granting of such permits is a liberal one, Mrs. Nemeth said. The MIER will grant permission if it sees that the investment is a safe one and if adequate regulations on the defence of foreign investment and the repatriation of profits exist in the country receiving the investment. The new foreign exchange code, to be discussed by parliament next year, would transfer the licencing process to the National Bank of Hungary, with the MIER to be involved in an advisory capacity, Mrs. Nemeth said.



**Sejm Passes Confidence Vote in New Government***LD1011083493 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0808 GMT 10 Nov 93*

[Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych's announcement of Sejm's confidence vote in the new government in Warsaw—live]

[Excerpts] We will now hold a vote of confidence as moved by the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Who, ladies and gentlemen, is in favor of the motion of the chairman of the Council of Ministers? Please press your buttons. Who is in favor, who has abstained? [passage omitted]

These are the results: 417 deputies took part in the vote. A simple majority is constituted by 205 votes; 310 deputies voted in favor, 83 deputies voted against, and 24 deputies abstained. The Sejm has passed the vote of confidence by a simple majority in the Council of Ministers. [applause]

**Pawlak Statement After Vote***LD1011093093 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0809 GMT 10 Nov 93*

[Statement by Polish Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak to the Sejm after vote of confidence—live]

Mr. President, Mr. Sejm Speaker: May it please the house! The government will look at all the motions tabled during the discussion and will take them into account in its work. During this discussion we agreed on one thing: This government faces a very difficult task and therefore we expect firm, but to the point cooperation in concrete matters, for the common good of us all. Thank you very much.

**Kwasniewski Addresses Sejm Session***LD0911192993 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1400 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Address by Democratic Left Alliance Chairman Aleksander Kwasniewski at the Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, may it please the House, ladies and gentlemen: We are aware of the difficulties which Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak's government is facing. It is a government which is taking over meager coffers of the state and a great many unresolved problems. We are aware of the responsibility which results from the electoral support for it and the public expectations which follow from this. We believe that the government is going to measure up to this test. The Democratic Left Alliance supports the motion for a vote of confidence in Waldemar Pawlak's government.

On 19 September democracy probably astonished some people with the substance of the citizens' verdict. But in essence nothing special happened. The citizens entrusted

the mandate to the political forces and people whom they had an opportunity to get to know in the political forum on equal principles with those who today constitute the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary opposition.

We have reasons to believe that the election success of today's coalition mean not only a challenge to the previous actions in the economy and the lack of social provisions. It is also a question of the style of practicing politics in which there was too much orientation toward the past on the one hand and conflicts in the victors' ranks on the others. This inevitably led to an atrophy of sensitivity toward the real public expectation. We have a more mature public than many of the rulers had thought. The citizens presented the mandate of their confidence to those forces which were more firmly grounded in Polish realities here and now.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have neither forgotten nor been forgiven for the past. History ought to be left to academics, journalists, and to each and every one of us for personal self-examination. This would probably be a better and fairer way. And although the past is now a closed chapter and the real challenge is the future, we are unavoidably involved in the past. We should do everything to ensure that it is not an obstacle in public dialogue, communication, and effective action.

I think that clear and intelligible words have to be spoken from this highest platform here. To all those who for the last four years felt rejected, whose achievements and honest work were questioned, to those who had their dignity and were satisfied with the achievements of the preceding decades, to those people I say: You have every right to walk with your heads held high. Thanks to you things were built and rebuilt, millions of people were educated, the economy was developed, external and internal security was ensured. [applause] Let the bitterness of the last few years not become a reason for seeking revenge. Poland has to develop without any more wars at the top, at the bottom, or wherever.

We also know that many people are anxious about whether old things are coming back, whether the sense of the democratic transformations is going to be questioned. Here we have to say: That system has collapsed. There can be no return of any kind to undemocratic methods, to violations of the law, to restrictions of liberties, and to ideological dogmas. This history is behind us. Today the Democratic Left Alliance clearly declares: No relapse into compromised methods, no matter under what banners they are offered, and especially in our ranks.

I also want to say today—although perhaps it is not up to me to say this—to all those, and some of them are here in this chamber, who experienced wrongs and foulness from the authorities and the system before 1989: We are sorry. [applause]

We are saying this not for political expediency but because we believe that it is time to close past accounts,

it is time to cooperate, time to agree. And we are not offering for evaluation words but deeds which yesterday, today, and tomorrow are going to confirm our beliefs.

Each one of us remembers the road they travelled up to 1989 and the experiences that befell us in the last four years. We have seriously examined our biographies and the tradition of the left in Poland. One thing is certain: We will never again catch either ideological extremism or arrogance, which is the gravest disease of power. We did not receive the election victory of 19 September with conceit, we received it with humility, because we know that governing or co-governing means more toil and responsibility than privileges. We do not have a sense of a mission. We are not convinced of our infallibility and omniscience. A system of practical government means constantly communicating with the public and referring to its aspirations and desires, it means serving the people.

An absolute majority in parliament does provide a form of comfort for focusing on the most important problems to be resolved, those problems that are of most interest to society. This situation makes one reflect and ponder in greater depth. Coalitions and governments come and go. We, as the society, remain. Problems to be solved remain too.

We do not want an eye for an eye. We have emphasized many times that we do not intend to carry out any de-solidarization. There is on our side a will to continue with what was announced by Prime Minister Suchocka—the building of national accord. Also our government wants to be the continuer of such accord. We reiterate the offer put forward by the prime minister and also the Sejm speaker for active participation of the opposition in the parliament and outside the parliament in co-governing the country. We cannot afford squabbles, disagreements, or any manipulation of tensions and conflicts in order to fulfill the ambitions of specific parties. Polish *raison d'etat* calls for cooperation, with the simultaneous preservation of one's identity and differences, and of the right and the duty to voice criticism of actions by the authorities.

Despite some opinions, our electors are not people who are dreaming about the sweet world of social security, the world of the past. They are not people who would like to turn the clock back four years. We do not and will not act under the pressure of such dreams. Because the people who voted for the Democratic Left Alliance had something else in mind. The issue was a greater balance between economic objectives and reasons, and social objectives. The issue was that the ones who govern should be concerned not only about the scale of the budget deficit but also about the deficit in households. Our electors are able to appreciate the strong zloty, a normal market, and the advantages of democracy. They cannot, however, agree to indifference to the social costs of reforms.

We are realists: The social costs of market reforms, the costs of transformations—this is not a closed chapter. There will be more costs to be borne. We hope that they will be smaller than they have been so far. The conflicts of interests between various social groups become more acute at the time of transformations, continuing transformations of the economic system. No social group can expect a return to the situation we had in the past when there was an economy of constant shortages, when demand exceeded supply, which put many producers, both industrial and agricultural, in a luxurious situation. At the same time the same very people had to face humiliations when they themselves became consumers.

One has to face the truth. The Polish economy has achieved market equilibrium, but progress in its technological, structural and organizational modernization has not been sufficient. Restructuring is needed in these sectors and branches of the economy, which have no prospects in their present shape to compete effectively with foreign entities on the market; their products can be forced on Polish customers and investors only thanks to closing the borders to outside competitors. These sectors absolutely have to be changed and restructured, because if they remain inert they will be condemned to slow death. The sentence can only be delayed.

We differ from doctrinal liberals because we will not allow the destruction of Polish manufacturers under the pressure of ruthless competition and under the slogans of freedom for the market and openness regardless of the price paid. There is the need to create conditions for change in industry under restructuring and for food economy which requires deep transformations. They have to be wisely protected during the period in which they undergo transformations. On the other hand, under the slogan of protectionism, one must not accept the consolidation of anachronism and the survival of structures, manufacturers, and goods which do not satisfy consumers, enjoy a monopoly, and have no long-term prospects.

We will support constructive changes in state enterprises. Their code of practice so far—the law on the state enterprises from 10 years ago, is outdated and does not satisfy the new conditions. There is the need to increase the flexibility and variety of activities for the state sector in the economy. That is how we understand the essence of the enterprise pact.

There has been one magic word so far—privatization. In reality there is a question of something else. Commercialization, adapting enterprises to market rules, thinking in terms of cost, profit and strategy for development. Privatization is one of the ways for state enterprises to acquire pro-market character and pro-efficiency drive. In fact there is a question of an owner appearing, which will improve management and impose rules of economic thinking upon enterprises. There is also the question of competition, which forces improvement even in state firms. Experts from international financial institutions which were analyzing the Polish

economy noted that many state enterprises managed well or even very well in market conditions. This should make even the most ardent liberals think. That is why we do not negate the need for privatization. We consider it as one of the ways, probably the one, which should be employed most extensively, but with prudence, patience, and seriousness, and above all seeing the target, which is the improvement of efficiency.

We do not share the view which treats privatization as an instrument. Let us not throw the baby out with the bath water. Let us make efforts to ensure that this process should serve the development of the economy in the best way. We cannot have a situation when state enterprises awaiting privatization are deprived of equal rights with other forms of ownership, when they deteriorate and lose their value only because they are state owned, when they are ideologically persecuted because of the mistakes of the old doctrine which aimed at the privatization of the entire economy. We attach great hopes to those solutions of the state enterprise pact, which will allow us to assess these enterprises by taking into account specific results rather than a doctrinal bias.

We believe that when we declare our will to promote investment, we should also clearly emphasize, without raising any doubts, the government's position on foreign investors. We are in favor of creating for them stable and good conditions in Poland. If these conditions are changed, it will be only a change for the better. State policy and the policy of local governments will be in favor of large investors in particular, who can ensure, apart from the financial capital, also access to modern technology, who can develop the qualifications of Polish employees, and who can ensure access to foreign markets.

The current level of foreign capital investment in Poland, estimated at \$2 to 3 billion, is definitely too small. It is the increase in the level of investment in Poland which will be the real measure of our integration with the world economy.

There is, however, an area from which the state can choose intervention instruments compatible with market economy logic. Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak spoke about this in his address. While giving our support to this address, we would also like to point out issues which require particularly urgent solutions. They are: A more even, than up to now, distribution among society of the market reform costs; ensuring the influx of tax contributions due to the budget by, among other things, extending the taxation base; creating an efficient fiscal mechanism by the fiscal and treasury police; adopting a crime elimination program by using methods and measures which are unconventional but observe the law; and an improvement in the functioning and observance of the law.

Social policy, in our opinion, should actively focus on actions which were subject to the greatest degradation in past years. This concerns, in particular: housing, where

the level of investment has reached rock bottom and has now returned to the level of the 1950's; health care, where access to basic services is alarmingly bad; and fighting poverty, which is a result, among other things, of very high unemployment in some regions of the country. We know, of course, that the results of a repair policy in these areas will not come from day to day. We also know that one must not delay taking action which will bring about results in a foreseeable future.

Apart from the fundamental structural reforms of which the premier spoke in his expose, it is appropriate to think through fast moves for counteracting the degradation of life and social services. We include among these the adoption of an immediate program of debt reseriving for the basic institutions of the public health service and education; the preparation of a list of basic medical services that must be available for all citizens, and in which it is not permitted to take successive steps backwards; an urgent resolution of the problem of assuring livelihood resources for those who have lost the right to take up unemployment benefit without a clear opportunity to get work there where they live.

Poland requires a new style for practicing the policy of administration of the country. Efficiency and effectiveness of activity, an ever fuller opening up to matters with which the citizen turns to his state, are the basic indications of this style. A condition is a reliance upon self-government in all its forms, from the territorial, through the professional, and toward the various forms of self-government. There is no turning back from the citizenship state, and there will not be. We believe that the government of Waldemar Pawlak will be active in this direction.

The second condition is personnel. The doctrine of division of spoils between electoral victors, who present their own people with the greatest possible number of state sinecures, taking into account qualifications of political loyalty and thereby bypassing professional competence for the posts held, is alien to us. Of course, in every state a certain number of public posts are held by politicians from groups entrusted with electoral confidence by citizens. We are, as the Democratic Left Alliance, supporters of the greatest possible stabilization in the professional ranks of state administration officials, together with public officials in management posts, everywhere where the usefulness of people is decided by their professional competence and experience. The game of a far-reaching nomenklatura carousel recalls the worst practices of the more distant and the more recent past, where not qualifications but political or group loyalty were the basis of personnel policy. We do not want a return either to the times of Comrade Szmaciak or to the, after all, not at all distant practice of a Solidarity Republic of Old Boys. In any case, in many respects these are the same phenomena, only differently labelled. [applause]

We are in favor of finalizing the legal bases for the creation of a stable public service, one that is not subject



to political fluctuations and shocks, similar to the most efficiently functioning West European countries.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, may it please the House! We judge that it is time to commence the final work on a draft constitution of the Polish Republic. There are all the prerequisites for the present Sejm, together with the Senate, to present this supreme legal document of the state to society for confirmation in a referendum. We feel that there is sufficiently rich material in the form of the achievements of the previous parliament, presidential initiatives in the sphere of the guarantee of civil rights and freedoms, and also a series of individual drafts for the fundamental law, for constitutional work to be able to move to a conclusion.

We are of the opinion that during the last stage of work on a draft constitution, we have to seek views of groups not represented in the Sejm, including extra-parliamentary political opposition. We await opinions from employee groups, from administration of justice employees, and from experienced civil servants. A final decision will lie in the hands of the public, which will approve or reject our work in a referendum.

Our position is that of separating church from state and of safeguarding respect for freedom of religion and conscience, and also of constructive cooperation between the government and the Catholic Church as well as other churches and religious groups. The Democratic Left Alliance favors regulating relations between Poland and Vatican on the basis of the Concordat. As a country of Catholic culture, we should have a permanent and treaty-based agreement with the Holy See. However, in the face of doubts in many communities about the mode of adoption of the Concordat and some of its statements, we support the view of the government that necessary steps will have to be taken, in dialogue with the Church, for successful conclusion of the ratification procedures of the Concordat.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, may it please the house. We are in favor of pragmatism. The ideas of historic turns, political experiments, and permanent revolution are alien to us. Polish society lost too much in the near and more distant past on such philosophy. As much continuation as possible, and guided by reason. As many changes as necessary. We are going to be guided by that in line with our election slogan—things do not have to be like that any longer. We are for corrections and transformations where the intensive and incompetent policy of the previous governments lost connection with public and economic realities, where it ignored the severity of social costs, which also have limits. In market economy not only goods but also the patience of the people have a price. Social peace has its real price too.

Our pragmatism means the observance of the rule: Above all, do not cause damage, do not damage what was achieved in past years, do not cause high inflation again, do not restore an economy of shortages, shop lines, and

dictates of manufacturers over customers, do not undermine the trust in saving in Polish zlotys, do not restore a centrally operated system of managing the economy, do not replace the market with administrative decisions, do not discourage foreign investors, do not close the Polish market to normal and honest outside competition.

Our motto is to remain faithful to the principles and to be flexible in pursuing our aims. This motto is sensible when the policy which is being implemented serves the people.

Ladies and gentlemen. The world is changing before our very eyes. New prospects as well as new dangers are opening. Nobody will grant us the position or authority either for past achievements or for likeable opinions. We have to build it with effort, consequence, and openness. This is not only the government's task. This is a mutual responsibility. We are convinced that the opposition within the parliament as well as outside it will not avoid this responsibility, that the president of the republic will support these actions. Poland needs the success. This success is possible thanks to millions of Poles. The Democratic Left Alliance will do everything to ensure that not only Waldemar Pawlak's government, ministers, the parliament, deputies, and senators but also our citizens and our country will be successful.

#### **Kwasniewski, Pawlak Meet Deputies, Call For Support**

*WS0911154993 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
9 Nov 93 p 2*

[Report signed by E.K.: "SLD—Full Support"—last paragraph attributed to E.Cz]

[Text] Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] Deputies Club in the Sejm, appealed to the club's members during one of its sessions, for full support for the government's program during the Sejm vote scheduled for Wednesday [10 November].

"Your voting is to send a clear message to the public; a message that our 171 votes constitute a stable and significant pillar of the governing coalition"—Kwasniewski declared in front of his deputies.

During Monday's session of the club, deputy prime ministers and all the SLD ministers met with the Sejm deputies. They informed their club colleagues about measures they have undertaken so far in connection with their governmental responsibilities, as well as about their plans for the immediate future. Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak was the club's guest for a short while. He thanked the deputies for their support during the process of forming the government, and he also very briefly summarized the main points of his inaugural address to the Sejm. Speaking on the topic of hearings conducted by Sejm commissions of the ministers, which are just beginning, the prime minister said: "I know you will make sure the ministers are questioned thoroughly and with precision, but I am counting on positive results"—after

which he smiled and was applauded. "He is laughing. He would never do this in front of a camera"—one of the Sejm deputies was clearly moved.

Both the prime minister and the SLD leader repeated their appeals for patience, understanding, and a positive attitude toward the new government's members. Minister of Ownership Transformations Wieslaw Kaczmarek also appealed that the ministers be given a three-week warm-up period. Kwasniewski went even further in his request. While not willing to repeat a past appeal for "90 peaceful days" [by Jaruzelski in the early 1980's], he requested 80 days instead. "This is exactly how much time Jules Verne's hero needed to travel around the world"—he said.

The SLD Deputies Club elected a 16-member Presidium headed by a chairman (who had been elected by a separate voting beforehand), and four deputy chairpersons: Ewa Spychalska [chairwoman of the All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement], Longin Pastusiak, Danuta Waniek, and Wacław Martyniuk, who is both the club's secretary and its press spokesman which Zbigniew Siemiatkowski became again [as published]. Subject coordinators were also selected by way of a vote; they will be responsible for conducting work on specific problems within their respective commissions.

Almost 170 Sejm deputies and senators for the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], gave Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak a standing ovation at a session of the PSL Sejm Deputies Club. Deputy Prime Minister Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz and Labor Minister Leszek Miller, were also applauded; they were introduced to the club's members by the prime minister. It was a short, typical kind of goodwill visit. Prime Minister Pawlak informed the club about the main theses of his Sejm address. There was no debate on the government program. A question as to how the PSL Deputies Club will vote during the motion on the prime minister's address, was not even raised. Everybody knows—all will be in favor. Some Sejm deputies like to add nevertheless, that they will be watching very closely the way the government's program will be implemented.

#### **Sejm Committees Approve Appointments**

*LD0911160293 Warsaw PAP in English 1247 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 9—Sejm (lower house) committees on Tuesday continued their appraisal of the ministerial appointments in the government of Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, and supported the remaining nominations.

Late on Monday night, it was announced that the Sejm social policy committee had approved the appointment of Leszek Miller as minister of labour and social policy. During the hearing, Miller described as priorities the revision to the pensions law, and the law on employment, together with regulations linking public sector pay

to wages in the industrial sector. He also supported the establishment of a social minimum as the basis of state support for the worst-off.

On Tuesday, the Sejm health committee voted 20 to 4, with one abstention, to approve the appointment of Ryszard Zochowski as minister of health and social security. During the hearing, the new minister described Poland's restrictive abortion law as having "something of a human face," although it was not yet "completely for people." However, amendments to the law were not a front-line priority.

Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski, one of three presidential appointments, secured the approval of the Sejm administration and internal affairs committee. However, he was criticised by Union of Labour leader Ryszard Bugaj for the "secret services" nature of his decisions as interior minister in the Suchocka government relating to orders permitting the surveillance of opposition politicians.

In the Sejm committee for contacts for Poles abroad, Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski secured overwhelming support, although the committee chair Leszek Moczulski (Confederation for an Independent Poland) voted against his nomination. Moczulski was the only committee member to vote against the appointment.

The committee for national and ethnic minorities approved the appointment of Michał Strak as minister-head of the Cabinet Office (URM). However, committee Deputy Chair Henryk Kroll, one of four Sejm deputies representing Poland's German minority, said that the new government had said little of interest on matters relating to national minorities.

The relevant committee also approved the appointments of Communications Minister Andrzej Zieliński and Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Lesław Podkański.

[Warsaw PAP in English at 1313 GMT on 9 Nov, in another report on the meetings of Sejm committees, adds that The Sejm (lower house) committees of national defence and of culture approved the nominations of Piotr Kołodziejczyk as defence minister, and Kazimierz Dejmek as minister of culture, at hearings on Tuesday.

While it is not a constitutional requirement for ministers to be approved by the relevant Sejm committees, the voting could nevertheless impact on the eventual approval by the house of the make-up of the Cabinet. The vote of confidence in the new government is scheduled for Wednesday.]

#### **Olechowski Gets Favorable Reaction**

*LD0911221193 Warsaw PAP in English 2035 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 9—Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski received a positive opinion from the Sejm (lower house) Foreign Affairs Committee on Tuesday

with 23 deputies supporting the appointment, three against and four abstentions.

During Foreign Affairs Committee hearing Olechowski stressed that Polish foreign policy should be constructed in cooperation with the president, parliament and the government to create a national consensus of all political forces, including extra-parliamentary opposition.

He added that while continuing the main directions of Poland's foreign policy he plans to put more emphasis on economic problems.

"The ministry will act to protect and promote Poland's economic interests abroad," said olechowski.

He stressed that Poland will be striving for membership of NATO and other European structures as guarantees of security are necessary already now in the face of instability and conflicts threatening the region.

Olechowski went on to emphasize the importance of good relations with all neighbours and assessed the existing relations as good but lacking the utilization of all possibilities, particularly the economic potential.

Asked about weaknesses of Polish foreign policy pursued over the past two years Olechowski said that the concluded inter-governmental treaties and agreements were feebly implemented.

In the Sejm Committee for Contacts With Poles Residing Abroad, the foreign minister secured overwhelming support, although the committee chair Leszek Moczulski (the Confederation for an Independent Poland-KPN) voted against the appointment.

In the Sejm Committee for the European Union, Olechowski was supported by 11 deputies while 2 were against his appointment as foreign minister.

During the hearing Olechowski said that European integration is the best way of guaranteeing peace and security on the continent. He also stressed the importance of Poland's further cooperation with the Visegrad Group of states.

#### **New Sejm Speaker on Communism, NATO, Church**

WS0911113093

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Television Second Program Network in Polish at 1910 GMT on 7 November carries the "Special Line" program. This edition—which lasts 50 minutes—has the format of a live studio interview during which newly elected Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) answers questions from Barbara Czajkowska of Polish Television. Later in the program, two more participants join the discussion by asking questions of Speaker Oleksy, and beginning five minutes into the program, viewers are also allowed to participate, but only by having their phone calls registered as being either in favor or against what

Speaker Oleksy says. Therefore, no actual questions are ever heard from listeners, and all one can see on the screen is an updated tally of the number of votes for and against. These are seen throughout the program beginning five minutes into the show.

The program begins with Czajkowska recalling some of the apparently contradictory highlights of Speaker Oleksy's life—he was an altar boy, he attended a theological seminary, later he became the first secretary of a Voivodship Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR), and now Sejm speaker of the reborn Polish Republic. When Czajkowska says that viewers admire Oleksy's "chameleon capabilities," in terms of being able to adapt himself so efficiently to the changing environment, Oleksy responds by saying that the "chameleon" label is not "completely justified" because the label has a negative connotation—it implies someone who in a very skillful manner adapts to the changing environment, whereas "in my case, I do not suppose that is a correct description of myself," Speaker Oleksy says. He also says that his alleged attendance of a seminary is an overstatement, pointing out that it was only a high school run by church authorities.

After some humorous and insignificant discussion between Czajkowska and Speaker Oleksy regarding nicknames that have been assigned to him, the interviewer says that "Solidarity" activists recall Speaker Oleksy as being a "cold and brutal hard-liner." Speaker Oleksy responds to that by saying he is surprised by that opinion since he regards himself as a man of considerable "psychological sensitivity."

Czajkowska then begins a more substantive part of the interview by citing some excerpts from a past statement by Speaker Oleksy, in which he said that former PZPR members (who currently belong to the SLD, and its main component—Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, SdRP) survived the post-1989 period which, according to Speaker Oleksy, is "proof that we were guided by our beliefs, and not by a desire to be successful in political careers." Speaker Oleksy recalls that the period after 1989 was one of tough assessments of people in terms of their past activities, and of judging people in the context of those assessments. He then describes how the main role in his survival in the period, was his conviction about the political ideas, and about the need to adopt the right position on the communist period, entailing a critical evaluation of all evil that was present then. Speaker Oleksy also says that the Polish people will "undoubtedly return to discussing that era on many occasions in the future, while the left wing which I represent—I said many times, it cannot afford to become sick of historical amnesia, and it must remember about everything that was bad, to prevent that from happening again." Czajkowska then presses Speaker Oleksy to say more on the topic, by recalling his statement to the effect that "such a critical evaluation of the past still brings along with it a risk, and a danger, when it comes to the good frame of mind of a major part of the electorate." When she asks Speaker Oleksy whether caring for the



electorate's good frame of mind is the reason for the past still not having been accounted for, he refuses to go along the interviewer's line of reasoning. He says: "What you said is not true, because assessments of the past were made, but there was nobody to listen to them. The left wing formulated such evaluations on many occasions over the past three years. But the political requirements of the time were different—they demanded that the left wing be portrayed as a post-PZPR, crypto-communist remnant of the past era, as concealed and mysterious forces whose only goal is to uncritically return to the past. Plus, I regret the fact that many statements and serious political resolutions by the left wing, were ignored. They deserved to be heard. But it is a fact that these assessments have not been completed yet, and we do not have an objective evaluation of the past. I think it will be the historians who will finally succeed in doing it truly and completely, because whenever politicians attempt to evaluate the recent past, they always end up making that evaluation part of their political fights, and in this way they blur the essence of many things that happened then. This is particularly true when they do it during the heat of various political battles." Regarding the "electorate's good frame of mind," Speaker Oleksy says all of society went through the era of socialism and of the Polish People's Republic (PRL), and so it is not easy to separate from the rest of society some social groups which could be ascribed to that ideology.

Czajkowska's next question concerns the comparison that was made on the arrival of the five Poles freed in the United States of charges of conspiring with Iraq (the so-called "rifle affair"), with 16 Poles (leaders of the underground Polish state) convicted in Moscow in June 1945 by Soviet authorities. Czajkowska holds up a copy of *ZYCIE WARSZAWY* with a photograph of some banners reading "5-16," she reminds Speaker Oleksy that he received the freed men after their arrival, and she notes that nobody from the ruling coalition has so far come up with any explanation of the government's position on the "5-16" analogy. Czajkowska also says Speaker Oleksy failed to say anything on the subject as well, and urges him to do so now. Speaker Oleksy says the comparison was an "indecent thing to do" and he says that had he known the contents of the banners at the airport and the nature of the welcome ceremony, he would probably have reconsidered whether or not to receive the Poles in the Sejm. He also adds, however, that he was guided "only by human considerations" in the decision, and that he will continue to receive "private persons whose misfortune is a public issue, simply to demonstrate some kind of cordiality. One must admit, that, without going into the question of guilt—which the U.S. court decided anyway—or into the essence of how they got involved, 18 months spent in prison is a misfortune, it was a public issue, and that was the only reason for me to have to receive these men, without any kind of political or historical implications."

At 1922 GMT, Sejm Deputy Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and deputy chairman of the Democratic Union (UD) joins

the interview from the television studio in Wroclaw. Frasyniuk seems to contradict some labels ascribed to Speaker Oleksy which were mentioned earlier, by pointing to his sensitivity and willingness to resolve disputes. However, Frasyniuk then immediately changes his tone by accusing Speaker Oleksy of "making heroes out of ordinary arms smugglers, whom society tends to view the same way as drug smugglers, as people who deal with death." Speaker Oleksy responds by saying he is familiar with the essence of Frasyniuk's attitude on the Sejm visit, after which he admits that "not everything in this case was thought through by me" but he then rejects accusations of political calculations, and he stresses again that he was guided only by human motivations. Speaker Oleksy seems to also admit that "perhaps this was too salient a thing to do at the beginning of my term, and I know that many reactions were not in accordance with my intentions in that case."

Frasyniuk then continues his contribution to the program by pointing out that many people have suffered in Polish prisons for the country's future and they were never received or thanked by any public figure. He also points to the private-profit motive guiding the men released in the rifle affair. Speaker Oleksy repeats again that communication with Frasyniuk will continue to be impossible as long as the latter keeps ascribing political aspects to the case, as opposed to Speaker Oleksy whose only motivation was purely human. When Frasyniuk finally asks: "Isn't it the case that American prisons ennobles, whereas Polish ones do not?", Speaker Oleksy says "absolutely not" and he refuses to discuss possible anti-American sentiments or other foreign policy themes toward which Frasyniuk seems to be heading. Frasyniuk is then told by Czajkowska that his time is up.

The interview's next topic is the round-table talks between the "Solidarity" trade unions and PZPR. When asked by the interviewer whether in his view "Solidarity" broke its agreement by not allowing PZPR to continue for four more years in power, Speaker Oleksy seems surprised at first, but when he is pressed by the interviewer, he admits that what she asked was indeed the case.

When asked to evaluate the performance of President Lech Walesa, Speaker Oleksy first refuses to "be dragged into evaluations on the country's first official—the president. I can have different views on the topic, and I indeed have quite a few of those, but I am not authorized—nor would it be appropriate—for the Sejm speaker to publicly evaluate the president's performance, regardless of whether the evaluation is excellent, or just average."

Czajkowska then asks Speaker Oleksy to comment on his past statement that former Foreign Minister Skubiszewski failed to implement Poland's foreign policy interests. Speaker Oleksy responds by saying that the statement is "taken out of context" and says his statement only applied to some aspects of Skubiszewski's policies.

He then goes on to evaluate President Walesa critically, by saying that Walesa "makes many announcements or harsh assessments, which then fail to become the basis for practical measures, which seemed so tough when you listened to the statements."

At 1932 GMT, Antoni Macierewicz of the Movement for the Republic joins the discussion, and proceeds with his questions. He first addresses the issue of a past statement by Speaker Oleksy on foreign policy made in the previous Sejm, when Speaker Oleksy allegedly said that Polish foreign policy should be reoriented to the East because it is too pro-Western. Asked by Macierewicz whether he still holds that view today, Speaker Oleksy refuses to be regarded as anti-Western (including European integration and NATO membership), but he says that the West "cannot be Poland's only direction in foreign policy. That is the way my criticism should be understood." He also says he upholds the belief that Poland's strategic interests require dealing not only with the West, but also with a "big chunk of the rest of the world with which we can and must do business." He says if Eastern policy were to be neglected (including the Far East—China, Japan, etc.), that would be harmful to long-term Polish foreign policy interests.

When pressed by Macierewicz on whether he is in favor of Poland becoming a NATO member, Speaker Oleksy responds: "Of course I am, and I am surprised you have doubts on that." He goes on to say that some confusion may have been created because SLD declared that questions must be asked concerning NATO's essence and Polish membership, but the fundamental acceptance of the idea of membership is not affected by those questions.

Macierewicz then asks Speaker Oleksy what position he will take on Polish defense doctrine, in view of the Russian situation. Speaker Oleksy says that in that view, NATO membership by Poland becomes an urgent issue; he says the threat of imperial tendencies by Russia has acquired greater significance nowadays.

Macierewicz's last question concerns the issue of whether Speaker Oleksy is in favor of a file-checking policy (policy designed to eliminate past collaborators of secret services from some public posts) with regard to the new cabinet. Macierewicz claims that some government members were included on lists of collaborators of secret services in the PRL period. Speaker Oleksy refuses to discuss the issue in view of the fact that the presence of Macierewicz (and the files he submitted before the Sejm), give the question a meaning which Speaker Oleksy would like to avoid. He says, however that he is in favor of "some kind of legal formula in the future—I think that will have to be done—to prevent issues like these from becoming problems while selecting candidates for public offices." When Macierewicz repeats the question and asks the Sejm speaker to disregard the issue of the "Macierewicz files," Oleksy repeats his response

and view, that to answer the question in the context of Macierewicz's files, would "certainly be a distortion of the issue."

The interview's next question concerns the nomination of Leszek Miller as labor minister. Speaker Oleksy admits the candidacy was controversial, but he says the rule must be adopted that the "coalition selects people to implement its program. If the coalition agreed that Leszek Miller guarantees—or creates—a good opportunity for the successful implementation of its program at this very difficult stage—then that is my primary perspective on the issue."

On the topic of election promises made by SLD, Czajkowska asks Speaker Oleksy whether there is not any discrepancy between what he said before and after the 19 September elections, regarding valorization of retirement and other types of pensions. He responds that there is in fact no contradiction between the two statements at all; he affirms the coalition's intention to carry through honest valorizations. What is not entirely clear—Speaker Oleksy says—is the issue of budget capabilities, the time frame, and the valorization's extent and scope. He says his election promises remain unchanged.

Asked by the interviewer about the alleged lack of taxation of the Catholic Church's collections gathered at masses, and also of Sejm deputies' salaries, Speaker Oleksy denies the latter—according to him, Sejm deputies' salaries are indeed subject to taxes (excluding expense allowances). Regarding the church's alleged tax privileges, Sejm Speaker Oleksy says that in many cases the church does pay taxes, and opinions on extraordinary privileges "are based on selected cases." He also says the issue of the church's economic activity and of taxes associated with it, will be addressed at a late time.

Czajkowska continues with the issue of Sejm deputies, by citing figures showing that the average monthly budget expenditures borne on a Sejm deputy are in the range of 43 million zlotys. She calls that "extremely disturbing and upsetting news." Speaker Oleksy admits the figures are indeed correct, but "all I can do is appeal to the mass media not to make calculations like these, which are correct, but the problem with them is that they convey the impression that all this money goes into the Sejm deputies' pockets. Let us separate the issues here. I know I cannot demand anything, all I can do is ask that the mass media separate what the deputies get as their salaries, and expenditures which are objectively borne in connection with the Sejm's and deputies' bureaus' functioning. I am asking that this be taken into account, because the figures are different—I mean salaries on the one hand, and the cost of the Sejm's functioning, on the other."

On the topic of church-state relations, Czajkowska's question concerns how the current coalition would like to see church-state cooperation develop. Speaker Oleksy says the necessity of that cooperation is beyond dispute, and it is in the country's interest. He also stresses the

importance of achieving a common approach to further developing "a common good," both on the part of state institutions and the church. He also declares his goodwill in that regard, and describes the church's restraint in commenting on the election results, which "can be a sign of honest recognition of democratic facts, and of the democratic election results."

Regarding reprivatization, Speaker Oleksy confirms SLD's position on the issue, namely that reprivatization should be allowed to be implemented in necessary cases, without unnecessary intervention in today's legal status of the property concerned.

The last issue debated during the program concerns the pilotage program of transferring some central powers to local authorities. Speaker Oleksy says the winners-losers analogy cited by some viewers (to the effect of the Polish Peasant Party-SLD coalition being the winner, and society—the loser, in view of Prime Minister Pawlak's alleged violation of the law in sending messages to the voivods regarding the pilotage program), is totally inadequate for this particular situation. Regarding details of the issue, Speaker Oleksy asks Czajkowska and the viewers to refer to Prime Minister Pawlak himself.

The final results of the viewer call-in opinion survey, displayed on the screen, is 4,652 votes in favor of what Speaker Oleksy said, and 3,523 against.

The program ends at 2000 GMT.

#### **SLD Leader Elected Constitutional Commission Chief**

*LD0911193093 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1400 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] [Announcer] The National Assembly Constitutional Commission has held its inaugural meeting. Aleksander Kwasniewski has been elected the commission chairman and Stefan Pastuszka its deputy chairman. The vote was not unanimous.

[Correspondent Kucharska] Ten people abstained, including Hanna Suchocka and Jan Maria Rokita—the Democratic Union [UD] representatives. The other candidates received the following number of votes:

Senator Piotr Andrzejewski, put forward by the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN]—five votes; and Ryszard Bugaj, put forward by the Labor Union [UP]—three votes.

Aleksander Kwasniewski said that the SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] draft of the new constitution, that he had been supporting, is now only one of many drafts. He declared that he would be impartial, and he said that if he was to breach the impartiality principle, someone should point it out to him. He proposed that the constitution should be a citizens' compromise.

#### **Walesa Says Poland Needs 'New, Good Constitution'**

*LD0911193593 Warsaw PAP in English 1449 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 9—President Lech Walesa told the inaugural session of the National Assembly's Constitutional Committee on Tuesday that Poland needs a new, good constitution which would clearly determine the division of power in the state and meet the challenges of the present time.

In the opinion of the president the new constitution should create a model of the state, define its political system and determine its quality.

Walesa also stated that the constitution must create as well a mechanism that would prevent the abuse of power and build respect for citizens. The president recalled that the Charter of Rights and Freedoms presented by him to the previous Sejm (lower house) determines the limits that no authority may exceed.

During its Tuesday session the Constitutional Committee is to elect its chairman and deputy chairmen.

#### **Slight Drop in Unemployment Recorded**

*LD0911200093 Warsaw PAP in English 1629 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 9—An increase in the number of employed (of about 300,000) and a decrease in the unemployment rate (of 0.7 per cent) were two positive signs recorded between May and August of this year, according to the Central Statistical Office (GUS).

Director of the GUS Labour Department Janusz Witkowski told a press conference in Warsaw on Tuesday that the GUS data concerning unemployment differ from those coming from employment offices because of the difference in the methods applied. The studies into the population's economic activity are conducted by GUS every three months on a nation-wide sample of 20,000 families, he explained.

In August 1993, there were over 15.6 million employed in Poland. In comparison to May 1993 the biggest growth in the number of employed was recorded in agriculture. The number of people employed in the industry and trade grew by 100,000 in each of the two sectors. However, the number of employed remained lower in August 1993 than a year ago, Witkowski said.

It was characteristic for changes taking place on the labour market that ever more people were finding employment in the private sector. In August 1993 their number reached 53.3 percent of all the employed, also, a growth was recorded in the number of people employed in services (42.8 percent of all employed) and a drop in the number of those employed in industry (31.3 percent) and agriculture (25.9 percent), Witkowski continued.



He further stressed that the number of jobless decreased by 97,000 between May and August 1993 but the drop was recorded in towns only. The unemployment rate diminished from 14.3 percent in February to 13.1 percent in August.

Young people are the group most seriously threatened with unemployment. Nearly 45 percent of persons aged 18-19 are jobless, Witkowski said.

He expressed a hope that the positive trends observed on the labour market recently will be of a lasting character.

#### **Paper Notes Pawlak's 'Failure' To Mention U.S. in Speech**

*WS1011091693 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Nov 93 p 3*

[Commentary by Ryszard Malik, under the "Commentaries of RZECZPOSPOLITA" rubric]

[Text] [During his inaugural address to the Sejm on 8 November] Waldemar Pawlak spoke about a Polish foreign policy which is completely different from the one implemented by the Polish People's Republic for more than 40 years. He affirmed his desire to continue with a new policy, one based on genuine interests of the Polish state. He failed to mention, however, relations with the United States of America, which are important for a new Poland. The prime minister spoke about integration with the European Union, about cooperation with—and future membership in—NATO, about the significance of relations with our neighbors, about close cooperation with Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania. He had high praise for our relations with Germany. He did not even fail to mention China, Japan, and the Middle and Far East.

It is not clear how to evaluate the failure of the chief of Poland's fifth government in the post-communist era to mention cooperation with a country which—regardless of possible differences of opinion—helped Poland break its dependence on the Soviet empire. The United States has supported us strongly in the international arena, in international organs such as the World Bank and the IMF, during times which for us were periods of difficult struggle to break with the past. That support was in the form of billions of dollars. Polish people also remember several visits to their country by former U.S. President George Bush, who did not hide his positive attitude toward Poland, and who also was able to prove it by his deeds. It is not necessary—but in this context I think we should—recall one more obvious fact: the United States—if we like it or not—is today the only world power whose opinion is considered by all.

So it would be hard to accuse the authors, or co-creators, of Pawlak's Sejm address, of "being angry" with Washington, due either to the recent "rifle affair," or to negative statements by some chief officials of the new U.S. administration regarding Poland's attempts to become a NATO member. As former Prime Minister Jan

Krzysztof Bielecki commented on the omission—it was probably an unintentional oversight by the new government chief.

#### **Walesa Comments on Sejm Debate**

*LD0911215093 Warsaw PAP in English 2001 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 9—President Lech Walesa told journalists during Tuesday's parliamentary debate on prime minister's keynote speech that he liked only some elements in each parliamentary group's opinion.

Commenting on Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) Leader Aleksander Kwasniewski's apology addressed in the lower house to all who had suffered under communist Poland, President Walesa said: "I think, we all, including myself, use the word sorry too seldom." According to the president, anyone who had committed political or economic offence must, in a state of law, be accountable for one's past.

Referring to the relations between the lower and upper houses, Lech Walesa reiterated his earlier proposal to grant a "lifelong senator" status to persons once holding the offices of parliamentary speakers, the president, longtime MPs, and other important posts in order to take advantage of their experience in further tenures.

The president also vowed to defend the Concordat with the Holy See in its present shape, while the Polish Peasant Party and the Democratic Left Alliance have clashed over the document.

#### **Labor Ministry Accepts Solidarity Proposal on Meeting**

*LD0911144593 Warsaw PAP in English 1237 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Gdansk, Nov. 9—Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski on Tuesday announced the Labour Ministry agreed with the union's proposals to hold a meeting of experts to review the implementation of agreements Solidarity had signed with the government so far.

He made the statement during the two-day debates of the Solidarity National Commission that started here on Tuesday.

According to Krzaklewski, the meeting should take place next week.

#### **Defense Minister: Army Expenditures Must Not Decrease**

*WS1011111793 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10-11 November 93 p 3*

[Report by P.W.R.: "Cabinet Members Before Sejm Commissions; Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk: We Cannot Have Smaller Finances"]

[Text] Initial expenditures will be devoted to constructing mobile military forces, since a dislocation of troops to the country's eastern region is currently too costly. We cannot decrease the current levels of expenditures borne by the Army; we should aim at increasing expenditures borne by the defense system. Attempts to draw military men into political games amount either to a "lack of imagination or for diversion," Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk told Sejm deputies and members of the Sejm National Defense Commission.

The minister spoke in favor of civilian supervision of the military. "It is not possible for the commander of the Armed Forces to elude that control," the minister stressed. He also said clear statutory regulations should be enacted, which would separate the powers of civilian and military structures. Minister Kolodziejczyk also added that currently, the civil defense minister is empowered to issue orders, and initiate military operations, and he described the situation as a "misunderstanding."

The minister also said that "servile attitudes are visible in the Army," and he said one must combat this phenomenon. The posts of minister and deputy minister should be stabilized, so that possible changes in coalition arrangements do not cause unnecessary personnel changes in the Defense Ministry.

"We have witnessed attempts of drawing military men into political games. That is either a lack of imagination, or an outright diversion," Minister Kolodziejczyk said. He added that soldiers are entitled to their own political views, but only when they are not on duty.

The distribution of troops is not uniform, but a dislocation of the troops to the eastern part of the country would require "colossal expenses." Therefore—according to the minister—it is better to have mobile forces instead. To support that argument, the minister said that one should not expect a war to break out over a period of several days or even several weeks, in a contemporary world. "So there is time for troop dislocation," he argued. He also added, however, that one should not ignore investing in the military infrastructure in those places where it is the weakest.

Expenditures borne by the Army cannot be allowed to decrease below this year's levels. According to Minister Kolodziejczyk, Prime Minister Pawlak—as the financial situation improves—will be aiming at spending more on the Army. (He described the figure of 3 percent of the gross national product spent on the Army, as a "short-term goal.") Minister Kolodziejczyk will be trying to continuously remind the prime minister about this.

The minister described a professional Army as "every minister's and every commander's dream"; he would also like the length of the military service to be shortened. Yet—according to him—there is no money for things like this at the moment.

Asked about Army chaplains, Minister Kolodziejczyk said they will be bearing the burden of the service to the same extent as other soldiers.

Piotr Kolodziejczyk was positively evaluated and recommended by the commission for the post of defense minister. Eighteen deputies were in favor, one (from the Confederation for an Independent Poland) was against, while two (Janusz Onyszkiewicz and Bronisław Komorowski of the Democratic Union) abstained.

**Former Prime Minister Questioned on Corruption**

AU0911205993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1258  
GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/11/1993—Former Romanian premier Petre Roman was summoned for an interview on Tuesday at the Prosecutor's Office for clarification with regard to the complaint filed by the chief of the control corps of the prime minister about allegedly fraudulent dispensing of homes, the daily EVENIMENTUL ZILEI informs. A similar invitation was made also to former transport minister Traian Basescu.

The prime minister's control corps filed on 1 November 1993 an intimation to the prosecutor general concerning a "string of crimes, abuses, and forgery," perpetrated by Petre Roman while he was holding the premier office. Beside Petre Roman's case, the control corps submitted evidence also with respect to other ministers' cases: Traian Basescu's case of abuse in office and forgery and Mihai Zisu's case of abuse in office and false statements.

The former premier categorically denied the accusations against him after having renounced his parliamentary immunity thus making himself available for the questioning.

The press says the control corps completed the dossier of a fourth dignitary of Roman's team, Adrian Severin, whose conduct as former head of the National Privatization Agency is being investigated by the government control bodies.

**PNTCD Chief: Government Moving Toward Reform**

AU0911153693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1319  
GMT 8 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 8/11/1993—The president of the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party (PNTCD) Corneliu Coposu accused Vacaroiu government in an interview with the daily ADEVARUL of "having blocked the way to democratization and privatization although, apparently, for our external image, it has been making efforts toward reform and restructuring."

The PNTCD leader criticized the current government for not having a program as "the strategy of economic and social program, presented by Mr. Vacaroiu when he had taken over the power, was not a program but a string of objectives, legitimate wishes, which everybody agrees to."

Mr. Coposu's opinion is that given the decrease in the population's trust in the ruling party, a government change or a radical reshuffle could occur probably over the winter and then early elections would be called soon as one could not work with the current parliament and the democratic institutions could not be restored.

**PNTCD Rejects 'Autonomous Regions' for Minorities**

AU0811183093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1519  
GMT 8 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/11/1993—The European Christian-Democratic Union, ECDU, will hold a conference in Bucharest over November 10-12, Corneliu Coposu, chairman of the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party [PNTCD] told the press.

Coposu mentioned that the conference would focus on "the civic society" and be organized by the PNTCD and the "Hans Seidel" and "Eduardo Frei" foundations. It is expected to be attended by 80 representatives of Christian-Democratic and People's parties, members of the ECDU and of the European Democratic Union. The PNTCD leader also said that the problem of minorities would be discussed again at the meeting, that was tackled one month ago at the ECDU congress in Vienna. Coposu mentioned that his party had made a proposal that separate protocols be written, considering traits specific to each country. He added that the PNTCD could not admit the idea of autonomous regions.

In an interview with ADEVARUL, Corneliu Coposu elaborated on the conference of the Christian-Democratic European Union scheduled to take place in Bucharest on November 10-12 and on the position of the PNTCD with respect to the issues expected to be debated on that occasion.

Mr. Coposu said that the PNTCD was a center-leftist party, "pushed toward center by some other leftist parties." With respect to the proximate conference of the Christian-Democratic European Union to take place in Bucharest, the PNTCD leader said it would be attended by representatives of all the Christian-Democratic parties in Europe. The meeting would comprise two parts: first, devoted to ideological issues concerning the civil society, the second, a meeting expected to finalize several resolutions aimed at the good working of the union, including the protocol on the status of national minorities in Central and Eastern Europe, a subject which had been debated at the past reunions of the organization.

With respect to the said protocol, Mr. Coposu said the PNTCD had opposed certain proposals implying the right of ethnic minorities, to territorial or community's autonomy. "We agree to administrative autonomy, to traditional, to cultural autonomy, but we do not agree to territorial autonomy within the state."

In the context, Mr. Coposu added: "Hungarians, as they are the ones fighting in earnest, proposed advantages which we do not accept. We said that absolute equality among citizens opposed discrimination principles, either positive or negative, and we oppose positive discrimination."



**Cioflina Cited on Relations With NATO, WEU**  
*AU0911105393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0918  
 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/11/1993—The chief of General Staff of the Romanian Army surveys in an interview with daily ORA the main moments of Romania's relations of cooperation with the North-Atlantic Alliance and the Western European Union [WEU], reiterating that a priority of the Romanian foreign policy is the consolidation of these relations, and the adhesion to the NATO and WEU.

Lieutenant-General Dumitru Cioflina, secretary of state, the Romanian Ministry of National Defense, chief of general staff of the Romanian Army, reviewed first the participation of the Romanian Defense Ministry and other prominent Romanian military representatives in important events of the two bodies, as well as the visits to Romania by NATO and WEU officials. He also mentioned that in 1992 and 1993 alone, some 150 Romanian generals and officers participated in international courses and meetings organized or promoted by the NATO.

Asked to present the concrete results of a recent visit paid to the United States, General Cioflina said: "I had interviews with a number of political and military personalities in the U.S. Defense Department and in the General Staffs of the land troops and the Navy .... The evolution of the relations between the Armed Forces of Romania and the United States was appreciated during the talks and other needs and possibilities of development of the military cooperation were inventoried. Romania is already included by the U.S. Congress, since November 1992, in an International Program of Education and Training (IMET). To coordinate collaboration activities within the IMET program, a Romanian-American working group was set up.... The American party earmarked special funds to these activities."

General Dumitru Cioflina rejected the speculations according to which the conclusion of a military agreement with Russia would affect the development of Romania's relations of cooperation with the Western security structures. The Romanian Armed Forces, he said, "promote fine relations both with the European security structures and with the armed forces of the states in its own geo- strategic zone. Sure, nobody can shun the existence of the Russian Federation in this context. .... The military agreement with the Russian Armed Forces is similar to many other agreements already signed with the armed forces of other states... I want to stress that such agreements do not contain provisions of a political nature."

In concluding, General Cioflina stated: "The Romanian Army has committed itself to an intense and complex activity of development of the relations on multiple planes with the armed forces of the Western states, as an absolutely necessary step toward a possible and expected joining in the Euro-Atlantic security structures."

**ROMPRES Cites Jeszenszky on Visit to Transylvania**

*AU1011065793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1405  
 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/11/1993—Hungarian Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky, who paid a private visit in Transylvania, where most of the Hungarian minority of Romania lives, told the press that he could notice that "the Romanian Government opposes principles deriving from ignorance, from wrong lessons of the past." Jeszenszky, who said that the Romanian executive showed hospitality to him, also referred to Romanian-Hungarian relations. "Romanian and Hungarian politicians need patience to oppose the provocations they are subject to," mentioned Jeszenszky. "Lying should not be accepted. We have been misinterpreted. The instatement of democracy, of truth is a difficult process," added the Hungarian official.

Bloodshed is not the matter here. We must not use cannons to fight for rights, for the truth, for a better Europe, but we need patience, efforts, and determination," underlined Jeszenszky, who spoke about "the lessons of history, the Hungarian culture, the Romanian culture, and political life."

**Socialist Party of Labor Criticizes IMF Agreement**

*AU0811180293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1659  
 GMT 8 Nov 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/11/1993—"Although it has supported in Parliament the Party of Social Democracy (PDSR) and the government, the Socialist Party of Labour [PSM] is part of no political coalition and is not engaged in governing," says a statement made to the press by PSM Vice President Tudor Mohora. The PSM considers that the great difficulty faced by those negotiating a new credit agreement with the IMF is represented by agreements perfected by the previous government team in 1992, termed as "utopian arrangements which do not match the current economic and social reality of Romania." Acceptance and observance of such arrangements lead only to further decline of the national economy, the statement adds. The PSM considers therefore that the government must free itself from "burdensome inheritance from previous governments, from their concept of reform."

At the same time, the PSM firmly disavows agreements and acts of ruling causing damage to the national economy, susceptible to push down the standard of living, the statement says.

**Daily Cited on Politicizing Foreign Ministry**

*AU0911105193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0901  
 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/11/1993—In its 8 November editorial, the daily ADEVARUL writes that

foreign policy "is not a party matter, for it involves vital interests of the country and it cannot be set on a single party's shoulders."

The editorial comes to answer a recent statement made by Adrian Nastase, executive president of the ruling Social Democracy Party of Romania, on the need to politicize the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

"A simple boat sailed by its own interests can capsize before a mad man at the wheel would sail us to the Bermuda Triangle, as it happened before. That is why we think that foreign policy should be sailed only on a battle cruiser as a collective work of parliamentary parties," reads the editorial run by the daily ADEVARUL.

Adrian Nastase "is making a mistake when he tries to mechanically extend responsibilities of the ruling party to an inviolable matter such as the foreign policy of one state," the daily mentions.

Reminding that Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu considered that under the current circumstances it was better for the leadership of the Foreign Ministry to be taken by a competent person than a member of the ruling party, while Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, presidential adviser, said during a weekly

press conference that "officers in the ministries promoting national interests as the Foreign Ministry or the Ministry of National Defense should not be allowed to enroll in one party or another, precisely for the fact that national interests are beyond party interests."

#### Helsinki Watch Sees 'Serious Violations' in Romania

AU0811161793 Budapest MTI in English 1143 GMT 8 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 8 Nov (MTI)—Although the situation of ethnic Hungarians in Romania has considerably improved since the changes in 1989 in the areas of education, culture, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, serious violations of human rights have occurred in the past three and a half years, according to a report by U.S. Human Rights Organization Helsinki Watch.

The report, sent to MTI's Washington correspondent, shows concern for continued violations of individual freedoms and over Romania's failure to punish acts running counter to international and domestic norms.

Romanian authorities have also failed to offer immediate and just legal remedies to victims of harassment, the report says.

**Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 10  
November**

WA1011172093

*The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.*

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**SUMMARY**

*Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic considering territorial concessions ... Nine people killed in shelling of Sarajevo schools ... Bosnian Serb release of detained policemen clears way for Sarajevo evacuation ... Bosnian Croats rescind order to expel UN refugee workers from Kiseljak ... Sharp devaluation of dinar leads to chaos in Belgrade.*

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**DIPLOMATIC**

**KARADZIC CONSIDERS CONCESSIONS (TANJUG, AFP):** Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic says Serbs "ready to consider" Franco-German proposal granting territorial concessions to Muslims in exchange for lifting of sanctions on Serbs, but adds that abolition of sanctions should be "automatic and complete" after peace agreement is signed. (LD0911220693, AU1011112793)

**MILITARY**

**SARAJEVO SCHOOLS SHELLED:** Sarajevo Radio reports nine teachers and students killed in Serbian artillery attack on two Sarajevo schools. Bosnian Serbs accuse Muslims of responsibility for "staged massacre." (LD0911220493, LD0911181493)

**HUMANITARIAN**

**POLICEMEN RELEASED; EVACUATION CLEARED (AFP):** Local Muslim authorities clear way for evacuation of Serbs from Sarajevo after Serbian forces release two senior Bosnian policemen. (AU1011130393)

**CROATS RESCIND UNHCR EXPULSION ORDER (AFP):** Bosnian Croat commander for central Bosnia rescinds order by local Bosnian Croat commander Rajic expelling UNHCR workers from Kiseljak. (AU0911182493)

**ECONOMIC**

**'CHAOS' REPORTED AFTER DINAR DEVALUATION: TANJUG** reports "unprecedented chaos" in Belgrade shops as buyers attempt to purchase "anything of substantial value," following sharp devaluation of dinar. (LD0911135993)

**NOTICE TO READERS**

With this issue, the daily publication of the Balkan Crisis Bulletin is suspended. Further publication of the bulletin will be on an irregular basis, as events in the area dictate, and may be resumed on a daily basis if circumstances warrant.



**Karadzic 'Ready To Consider' Conceding More Land**

LD0911220693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2126 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic, said on Tuesday [9 November] that Bosnian Serbs are ready to consider the possibility to give more territories to Bosnian Moslems and to resume the interrupted talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

**Karadzic Insists on 'Complete' Lifting of Sanctions**

AU1011112793 Paris AFP in English 1104 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 10 (AFP)—Sanctions against Yugoslavia should be lifted completely, not gradually, once a Bosnia-Herzegovina peace agreement is signed, Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said Wednesday. He was commenting on a proposal from France and Germany that UN sanctions against rump Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) be lifted gradually in return for ceding three percent more of Serb-held territory in Bosnia to the Moslems.

The Serb side had already made many concessions on territory, Karadzic said quoted by the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA, adding: "After the signing of the peace plan, the lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia ought to be automatic and complete, not gradual and partial."

SRNA said Karadzic's number two, Momcilo Krajisnik, dismissed the Franco-German suggestion as "a manoeuvre, or even a policy abuse aimed at dividing the Serbs."

Yugoslavia's minister for economic relations with foreign countries, Milorad Unkovic, meanwhile told the political review Medjunarodna Politika that international sanctions in force since May last year had lost the country 25 billion dollars.

In an interview with the magazine reported by Tanjug news agency, Unkovic said Gross National Product had slumped 27 percent last year and he expected it to be down by 30 percent this year. Investment and exports had halved in the same period, consumption went down 20 percent and imports fell by 37 percent.

**Evacuation of Serbs From Sarajevo To Resume 10 Nov**

LD1011012393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0035 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Pale, November 9 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Serb republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina (R.S.) Nikola Koljevic set out Tuesday night the evacuation of Serb civilians from the Moslem sections of Sarajevo, suspended on Monday, would resume Wednesday at 11 A.M. He made the statement after speaking with

UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Director for Political Affairs Viktor Andreyev.

Koljevic assessed this was a "very significant meeting in terms of resuming the operation to evacuate civilians from Sarajevo in keeping with the accord on freedom of movement."

"We take this as a very significant sign regarding cooperation and soon, perhaps even tomorrow (Wednesday), there could be a meeting between the Moslem and Serb representatives at the (Sarajevo) airport," said Koljevic.

During the talk with Koljevic, Andreyev said a "partial accord was reached." It may be said that the situation in Sarajevo was deblocked so that some activity maybe expected which will make possible continuation of the launched process, said Andreyev.

A group of 320, mostly Serb civilians, left the Moslem section of Sarajevo Monday, after waiting for a full year for the permits to depart from the Moslem authorities. Another 300 Serb civilians were also to have left Sarajevo Tuesday, but the Moslem authorities suspended the exit after two members of Moslem police were detained by the Bosnian Serb Forces. The two were being accused of war crimes by the R.S. authorities. The convoy crossed Tuesday night from the R.S. to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

A civil war raged in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina for the past 19 months between the Moslems, Serbs and Croats.

**Muslims 'Refused' To Allow Evacuation**

LD0911225793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1859 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] Lukavica, Nov 9 (TANJUG)—Muslim authorities in Sarajevo on Tuesday refused to allow the evacuation of Serb civilians to continue, despite having issued them with the necessary papers.

The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has protested with the Muslim authorities for blocking the agreed evacuation, unhcr spokesman Sylvana Foa said on Tuesday, condemning the Muslim act as extremely cruel.

Bosnian Muslims and Serbs have agreed, with the mediation of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), on the evacuation of 642 Serbs from Sarajevo. The first group of 350 Serb civilians left the city on Monday, leaving the others to await the pleasure of the Muslim authorities to keep their promise.

About 150 Serb civilians spent the night in a building near the bus terminal, hoping against hope for the list of evacuees, made a year ago, to be honoured.

An explanation advanced for the hold-up of the second convoy of refugees is a refusal by the Muslim police to carry out checks of the passengers and baggage, after

having zealously performed this duty on Monday, when the refugees were very soon stripped of their money and valuables.

The evacuees in the convoy who have come to Lukavica, a suburb of Sarajevo controlled by Bosnian Serbs, say that the zeal of the police was such that women and children had to take off their clothes to be checked for illicit possessions.

One young woman succeeded in keeping only 1,000 out of 4,000 Deutsche marks she had had with her, with the police explaining this was all that she was allowed to take out. The worst off was a man who was stripped of 40,000 D-marks, eye-witnesses said. A bus carrying Serb civilians was attacked by snipers in Muslim-controlled territory.

According to another explanation, the Muslim authorities will allow the second group of Serb civilians to leave Sarajevo only after the release of Muslim special police officers Jozo Andjic and Ferdo Dejanovic, who are being held by Bosnian Serbs on charges of crimes against Serb civilians.

Andjic and Dejanovic were arrested on Monday when they were trying, in company with Sarajevo's Roman Catholic Archbishop Mgr Vinko Pulic, to reach Vares in central Bosnia, which Muslims have recently wrestled from Croat control.

Reliable sources close to the Bosnian Serb leadership have confirmed to TANJUG that Andjic and Dejanovic were travelling on false papers and that there is incontrovertible evidence implicating Andjic in the liquidation in April of 1992 of the nine-member crew of [words indistinct] a personnel carrier of the former Yugoslav People's Army shortly before its withdrawal from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

#### UNHCR Protests Delay

*LD0911135393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1212 GMT 9 Nov 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, Nov 9 (TANJUG)—The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has lodged a strong protest with the Muslim authorities in Sarajevo over the prevention of the evacuation of 292 Serbs from this city, UNHCR spokeswoman Sylvana Foa told a press conference.

These people simply must not be forced to spend yet another winter in Sarajevo, Foa said and added that the agreement calls for 642 Serbs to be allowed to leave the city. The first group of 350 Serbs was evacuated from Sarajevo on Monday.

Foa recalled that the evacuation was prepared for the past eight months, and that the three warring sides (Muslim, Serb and Croat) agreed about this, with the

mediation of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), and said that "what the Muslim authorities are now doing is very cruel."

One of the buses transporting the Serb civilians came under sniper fire on territory controlled by the Muslims, but before that the Serb refugees were forced to give up all their money and valuables to the Muslims.

#### Departure Delayed Again

*AU1011093293 Paris AFP in English 0853 GMT 10 Nov 93*

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Nov 10 (AFP)—The scheduled departure of a convoy of some 120 Bosnian Serbs was again delayed here Wednesday after city police banned UN officials from monitoring the operation, a UN official said.

Officials from the UN Protection Force, which is escorting the convoy out of the city into Serb-held territory, and the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees were turned back as they tried to enter Sarajevo bus station. "We are not allowed to take any part in the whole project," said Carlos Gutierrez, from the UNPROFOR civilian affairs office. "The policemen said they had got orders. Once they have got orders they will follow them. They don't care if they are the wrong orders. It is unfair and inhuman," he added.

He said members of the UN civilian police department were contacting Bosnian government officials to try and solve the impasse. Gutierrez said UNPROFOR should have a right of low-profile monitoring of an operation it was linked to. The Serbs form the last part of some 642 Serbs who had been due to be evacuated from Sarajevo on a Belgrade-bound convoy on Monday. [passage omitted]

Observers said Wednesday's delay could be connected to the fate of two senior interior ministry officials being held by Serbs. The two men, acting as bodyguards to a religious peace delegation including the Archbishop of Bosnia, were dragged from French U.N. armored vehicles at a Serb checkpoint Monday in the northwestern Rajlovac suburb of Sarajevo. They had been set for release late Tuesday but the operation failed to take place.

#### Serbs, Muslims Reach Agreement

*LD1011155093 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Nov 93*

[Text] Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly [of the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina], told us that he had several telephone conversations today with Muslim Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic. Here is what Mr. Krajisnik said about these contacts in a brief statement to our radio:

[Begin Krajisnik recording] I spoke with Mr. Silajdzic over the phone on several occasions this morning, and we managed to remove certain obstacles in the way of the evacuation of the Serbs. I received assurances from Mr. Silajdzic that the Serbs will be permitted to leave in accordance with the newly created situation in the Muslim section of Sarajevo. All the Serbs that have been registered and included on the list will be evacuated by the convoy that was already supposed to leave Sarajevo twice.

I hope that this will be honored because I will be meeting with Mr. Silajdzic this afternoon, and I hope he will directly inform us about the implementation of this agreement. [end recording]

**'Ustasha Shells' Destroy Historic Bridge in Mostar**

AU0911152893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Report by Alija Behran from the Mostar Press Center]

[Excerpts] Good day, esteemed listeners of the Radio of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is OSLOBODJENJE correspondent Alija Behran reporting from the Mostar Press Center with the news that struck like thunder and deeply saddened all residents of Mostar this morning of 9 November 1993, or to be more precise, at 1016, all residents who were anxiously listening to a new barrage of shells fired toward the Old Bridge. And then the news spread through the town. The Old Bridge was destroyed.

At the place where its high arch had been bridging the two sides of Mostar and the two banks of the Neretva River for 426 years, there is only a big gap now. Mostar is in a state shock and (?sadness). The town was following with disbelief the last ustasha shells that killed this proud old friend. [passage omitted]

Esteemed listeners, you will now hear from our studio Sulejman Murakovic, commander of the 4th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr. Murakovic, any comment?

[Murakovic] At about 1030 this morning, the Old Bridge was destroyed with direct hits from tanks, recoilless guns, and other weapons after it had been visibly damaged yesterday. I stress that the hits were direct, they were directed at the Old Bridge. This means that this was a direct hit with the intention of destroying the old bridge. Today, on 9 November 1993, it is six months since the Croatian Defense Council started attacking Mostar and the 4th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Unfortunately, the ustashas had a very productive day. I do not want to speak about [word indistinct] of the bridge. [words indistinct] protection of UNESCO as a world heritage, that it is 426 years old.

I would like to say that the fascist policy of Boban and Praljak destroyed this jewel of the world cultural heritage. The decent Croatian people, as well as the pro-fascist and pro-ustasha Croatians, must understand that they have deeply hurt the Muslim people and the 4th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. There is no longer a possibility for finding a peaceful solution with Boban's fascists. With this, they gave us an additional motive to finally settle accounts militarily. [passage omitted]

**Government Notes Destruction of Bridge**

LD0911232893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] The Presidency and Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina have sent a letter to the UN Security Council, the UNESCO director general, the European Council, the Islamic Conference Organization, and the Aga-Khan Center in connection with the destruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar. The letter stresses:

Dear Sirs: On 9 July this year the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government sent a request to the UN Security Council, UNESCO, and the European Council demanding of them to prevent the destruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar and to urgently send a UNESCO team to ensure its protection.

The Old Bridge in Mostar has been destroyed. Today, 9 November 1993, the Croatian Army and the Croatian Defense Council destroyed the most important monument of Bosnian culture.

Since 1566 the bridge, arching over 20 meters, linked the two banks of one of the most beautiful European towns. We expected the civilized world to see in that architectural pearl the unique beauty of history and spirit of the European people, and to stop the destruction. Gentlemen, one of the most beautiful bridges from the 16th century turned to dust right before your eyes in another terrible crime against culture. The crumbled bridge also crumbled the hope that humankind can protect itself from plunging into the abysses of crime in which the Bosnian people and their culture have been thrown.

The final moment has come for those in the international community who have so stubbornly been equating the victim and the aggressor to understand the difference between the aggression and the struggle for freedom, between barbarism and civilization. If the international community finally understands the truth after this, the old bridge has not fallen for nothing.

This is said at the end of the letter by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government.



**Presidency Condemns Attacks on School, Mostar Bridge***LD0911220493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] The Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina was in session today, chaired by Presidency member Ejup Ganic. The Presidency was informed about the brutal attack by the aggressor's artillery on two schools in Sarajevo's municipality of Novi Grad, in which nine people were killed and scores wounded. The Presidency sharply condemns this criminal act, the victims of which are mainly students, and expresses condolences to the families of the killed.

To protect the lives of Sarajevo's pupils, a decision was passed to suspend classes in primary and secondary schools until the end of the week, by which time the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government will have carried out full analysis and consultations and taken adequate measures concerning the holding of classes.

The Presidency was also informed about the destruction of the old bridge in Mostar, one of the most important cultural and historic monuments in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the pearl of the world's cultural heritage. This expression of pathological hatred for cultural heritage dramatically exposes the intentions of the aggressor against Bosnia-Herzegovina. A decision was passed to renew the demand put to the UN Security Council to proclaim Mostar a protected area.

In connection with today's tragic events, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency will request an urgent session of the UN Security Council. Certain heads of state—namely Presidents Clinton and Mitterrand, Queen Elizabeth, Yeltsin, and the UN secretary general—will be sent letters about the crime committed against Sarajevo's pupils and their teachers.

**Bosnian Army Threatens To Blockade UN Troops***AU0911161793 Paris AFP in English 1545 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[By Peter Mackler]

[Text] Zenica, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Nov 9 (AFP)—Bosnian Army forces have threatened to blockade U.N. troops in the central town of Vares, accusing them of obstructing key buildings and stealing technical equipment, official international sources said Tuesday.

They said the threat was contained in a protest delivered Monday by the Moslem-led army's 2nd Corps to the Nordic U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) battalion based in the northeast city of Tuzla. The note accused UNPROFOR units of taking part in an attack Sunday by Croat and Serb soldiers around the village of Dastansko, just southeast of Vares, which it said left four Bosnian soldiers dead and 13 wounded.

It mentioned French and Ukrainian units. French Foreign Legionnaires were in Dastansko on Sunday to back up Swedish U.N. troops responsible for the area, but no Ukrainians were sighted.

The protest, signed by the 2nd Corps commander, was sharply critical of the U.N. troops patrolling Vares after it was taken by Bosnian government troops on Thursday amid a spree of looting. It said the UNPROFOR units had blocked all key buildings with their vehicles and there was some indication they were taking orders in destroying technical equipment left behind by the fleeing Croats.

"We are requesting that those UNPROFOR units return to their bases immediately during this day or we will carry out a military blockade of the same units," said the note, the text of which was seen by AFP. No mention was made of the Swedes, who first patrolled the town before handing over the sector to the French units who arrived Thursday from Sarajevo as reinforcements.

Bosnian Army soldiers accused Swedish troops of firing on them around Dastansko on Sunday with combat infantry vehicle cannons. But the Swedes said they fired only warning shots after being trapped in the area by the Serbs and Croats. They said the assault on the Bosnians was carried out by the Croats and Serbs armed with anti-aircraft weapons deployed in positions near the U.N. forces.

Swedish officers said they were used as human shields for some 200-300 Croats backed up by a small band of Serbs in Dastansko after being lured to the area with false reports that 500 Croat refugees were in danger. The Croat soldiers, members of the Bobovac Brigade of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO), had holed up in Dastansko after the rest of their comrades fled farther south from Vares to Serb-held territory.

The Bosnian seizure of Vares, a once-prosperous trading hub linking central and northeast Bosnia, triggered a round of looting among the first arriving Moslem-led troops which Swedish soldiers tried to contain. The Swedes and French legionnaires posted armoured personnel carriers at key sites to prevent plundering, including at the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) warehouse.

**UNPROFOR 'Refuses' To Transport Muslim Group***AU0911215093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] As you know, the [Bosnia-Herzegovina] state delegation and the naib-ul reis [Muslim cleric] Mustafa Efendija Ceric have been in Bihac for a month now. The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]—that is, the French battalion—refuses to transport them to Sarajevo. Our reporter Mujo Delibegovic spoke to Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic on the telephone:

[Delibegovic] We asked Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic to assess for us the overall situation in which our delegation finds itself.

[Begin recording] [Ljubijankic] The explanation that UNPROFOR is using to justify the delay in transporting us and some 15 to 16 deputies from Zagreb from the last Assembly session, these justifications and explanations are so contradictory that they do not make any sense. They speak either of the impotence or the lack of will on behalf of UNPROFOR to do this. Our people from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the central authorities have been trying to solve this problem with Briquemont, on the level of the UNPROFOR commanders for Bosnia-Herzegovina and Yugoslavia.

[Delibegovic] Mr. Ljubijankic, where are you? Are you in their camp, or are you free in Bihac? Can you communicate with whomever you want?

[Ljubijankic] After being told for the second time that we were being flown out, and after arriving at the French battalion's base in Cazin, we remained at the base for four days in protest. The reis is still there in a kind of voluntary exile, or voluntary imprisonment. He is not being held by them there, but he will not leave as a protest. Reis is fasting and praying, but we have left since we were no longer willing to waste time there. [words indistinct] transporter. This is a political protest, which was initiated with our arrival there, and which the reis is still pursuing.

#### HVO Militia Chiefs Protest Disbandment

AU0911195293 Paris AFP in English 1923 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Nov 9 (AFP)—A section of the Croat-dominated HVO [Croatian Defense Council] militia in Sarajevo issued a formal protest to the Bosnian Government Tuesday against a move to place it under the command of the Moslem-dominated Bosnian Army.

HVO leaders who had avoided arrest presented a five-point demand to Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic at a crisis meeting here attended by some 300 HVO soldiers. The HVO demands included the release of militia leader arrested in last week's crackdown on the force, and a call for HVO members to be considered as prisoners of war if their demands were not met.

On Monday HVO military commanders called on U.N. Protection Force commander General Francis Briquemont to help free a number of leading HVO members held in Sarajevo, Radio Zagreb said. Among HVO members detained, according to an HVO statement, were its Sarajevo commander Slavko Zelic, his deputy, Zeljko Jukic, a brigade commander Ivan Vulic, and the head of the local HVO security services, Tomislav Kukor.

The Bosnian Army high command on Sunday confirmed it had dismantled the force and called on HVO members

to enrol in a new Croatian force, after signing an oath of loyalty to the First Bosnian Army Corps.

In its letter to Briquemont, the HVO condemned this "forced mobilization," which it said amounted to asking the Croats to "fire at their own people."

#### Captured Officers 'Maltreated'

LD0811144693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 8 Nov 93

[Excerpts] According to reports coming from the Siroki Brijeg-based office for refugees of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna the majority of Croat refugees [from Vares] have found shelter in Kiseljak. Miljenko Karacic reporting for Croatian radio from Siroki Brijeg. [passage omitted]

As we have been informed by Veso Vegar, spokesman of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] defense department in Herceg-Bosna, the Muslim leadership in Sarajevo ordered and carried out the arrest of Sarajevo HVO commander Slavko Zelic; HVO deputy commander Zeljko Jukic; Ivan Vulic, commander of the King Tvrtko Brigade; Tomislav Kukor, chief of security services, and Vinko Bosnjak, deputy commander of the operative group Vinko Bosnjak. Soldiers of the King Tvrtko brigade have been disarmed, intact property of the HVO has been seized and, according to a statement by an officer of the HVO brigade, the arrested officers have been maltreated and beaten and the premises of the brigade have been demolished.

#### Croats Facing 'New Wave of Arrests'

LD0911132893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] A high-ranking Croatian Defense Council [HVO] officer of the Kralj Tvrtko brigade in Sarajevo has reported a new wave of arrests of Croats in Sarajevo, HBNA [HERZEG-BOSNA NEWS AGENCY] has reported.

Ivica Bradar, a communications officer in the Kralj Tvrtko brigade, and his deputy Gordan Mandaric have been arrested. Muslims are also arresting HVO soldiers in their apartments, and fear and concern are rising among Croats in Sarajevo.

The Muslim public media are keeping silent about the mass arrests of the commanders and soldiers of the Kralj Tvrtko brigade but are constantly voicing accusations against [HVO] commander Slavko Zelic regarding the alleged plan to include Stup in the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna and to link the Stup corridor with Kiseljak and Kresevo, HBNA has reported.

### HVO Commander Orders UNHCR to Leave Kiseljak

LD0911194793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] The Zagreb-based office of the UNHCR has confirmed news coming from Kiseljak that the local HVO [Croatian Defense Council] commander has ordered UNHCR personnel to discontinue work at once and leave that Croatian enclave in central Bosnia.

This decision is in contravention of the previous stand personally endorsed by Mate Boban, president of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna, during talks with Nicholas Morris, UN special envoy for Yugoslavia, a spokesperson of the UNHCR said, adding that the personnel of the organization have taken the threat from the HVO officer very seriously and consider it unacceptable.

She said that this decision reduces the possibility of the Croatian refugees from Vares receiving aid. There are approximately 8,000 refugees in Kiseljak.

### UNHCR Protests 'Intolerable' Move

AU0911142293 Paris AFP in English 1404 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Zenica, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Nov 9 (AFP)—A local Croat commander has ordered all UN refugee workers out of the central Bosnian town of Kiseljak, UN officials said here Tuesday. They said Ivica Rajic, the hard-line commander accused by Moslems of masterminding a massacre last month, gave the order Monday to halt United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) operations in Kiseljak.

The order, following a confrontation with a UNHCR field worker a day earlier, was transmitted to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Bosnian command based in Kiseljak southeast of here. A UNHCR official said negotiations were underway to keep open the Kiseljak field office still staffed by eight people, including a social services officer and two military liaison officers.

"We have received some conciliatory messages from other parties," said the official at the UNHCR sub-regional office here, who asked not to be named. He did not elaborate.

UNHCR staff and workers in related services were ordered not to enter Kiseljak and other organizations were urged to follow suit. Extreme caution was urged in entering the Vitez pocket northwest of Kiseljak.

Rajic has been accused by the Moslem-led Bosnian Army of engineering the massacre last month at the Moslem village of Stupni Do where 17 bodies were recovered and many others feared burned to ashes. He and his Kiseljak contingent of the Croatia Defense Council (HVO) army

were forced last week to quit the nearby town of Vares east of here, which was taken by Bosnian forces Thursday.

In Zagreb, UNHCR officials confirmed Tuesday that UN relief workers had been ordered out of Kiseljak by a local Croat commander. Nicholas Morris, the UNHCR representative in Zagreb, on Tuesday objected to this "intolerable" move in a meeting with Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban, Alemka Lisinski, a UNHCR spokeswoman said.

The spokeswoman in Zagreb said Rajic's attitude was in violation of an October 23 agreement between the UNHCR and Boban, who pledged to guarantee free access to relief workers and vowed to punish anyone who breaches the agreement. The spokeswoman said Rajic's order could hamper humanitarian aid operations destined for some 8,000 Bosnian Croats who sought refuge in Kiseljak last week after fleeing the town of Vares. [passage omitted]

### Expulsion Order Rescinded

AU0911182493 Paris AFP in English 1758 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] Zenica, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Nov 9 (AFP)—Croat forces agreed Tuesday to let U.N. refugee workers remain in the central Bosnian town of Kiseljak a day after ordering them out because the local commander felt offended by a field officer, officials said.

Ivica Rajic, the hard-line commander accused by Moslems of masterminding a massacre last month, gave the order Monday to halt United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) operations in Kiseljak. But UNHCR officials said Dario Kordic, the Croat commander for central Bosnia, reversed the order after talks in nearby Busovaca with Anne Willem Bijleveld, UNHCR coordinator for special operations for the ex-Yugoslavia from Geneva.

"It was a misunderstanding and things are back to normal," said Mark DeGuilio, the UNHCR field officer who drew Rajic's wrath Sunday. "UNHCR operations in Kiseljak are back in full swing." The eight UNHCR staff in Kiseljak remained in the town throughout the discussions but other workers attached to the organization were ordered to stay away from the area.

Rajic has been accused by the Moslem-led Bosnian Army of engineering the massacre last month at the Moslem village of Stupni Do where 17 bodies were recovered and many others feared burned to ashes. He and his Kiseljak contingent of the Croatia Defense Council (HVO) army were forced last week to quit the nearby town of Vares east of here, which was taken by Bosnian forces Thursday.

The incident Sunday was typical of the way the UNHCR has been caught up in the raging antagonism between Moslems and Croats, who were once allies against the Serbs in central Bosnia.



DeGuilio said he ran into Rajic while trying to check on reports that some 5,000 to 7,000 Croat refugees had fled to Kiseljak and Kresevo farther south. He said he tried to go to Kresevo, which was low on stocks for any refugees, but was told at a HVO checkpoint that he needed clearance from Kiseljak.

When he went to Kiseljak he dropped in on a meeting of HVO and U.N. officials, where he said the Croats accused the UNHCR of being "Moslem-lovers" and refused them access to Kresevo. DeGuilio said he then left the meeting and told the Croats that when they wanted UNHCR assistance for the refugees they could contact the organisation.

He said the meeting then broke up and Rajic followed him out and said, "I don't want to see your face in Kiseljak again." The threat was later extended to include all UNHCR staff.

"I was rattled. It was the first time I was rattled and I have been working for the U.N. for a long time," said the 34-year-old DeGuilio, a five-year veteran who served in Thailand and Cambodia.

#### Serbian Police 'Arrested' Czech Aid Workers

AU0811183493 Prague CTK in English 1538 GMT 8 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 8 (CTK)—Members of the Czech Epicentrum Team supervising the distribution of humanitarian aid given in the SOS Sarajevo campaign organized by Czech journalists, were allegedly arrested today by Serbian police, but should have been set free by now. The unconfirmed information was given to CTK by Jan Pergler, another member of the Epicentrum Team. More precise information is expected this afternoon.

The delegation of three Epicentrum members flew from Prague on November 3, and are due to finish their mission in the next few days. Because the present complicated situation makes it difficult to leave the city, they will probably each fly back separately, Pergler said. One of the members of the mission is expected to fly to Zagreb on an UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] plane today.

Asked how the finances in the SOS Sarajevo account will be further used, Pergler said that the Epicentrum Team members would decide when they returned home after having ascertained in Bosnia what was needed. Pergler said there would probably be one plane and several lorries full of blankets and medicines.

As of November 3, SOS Sarajevo had collected more than 21 million korunas. This had provided so far an aeroplane full of medicines, health equipment and food, designated mainly for children, and two lorries with a consignment of blankets and tinned fish. On Friday these were distributed between the center for children's homes, refugee camps and Sarajevo hospitals.

#### Silajdzic, Stoltenberg Discuss Current Issues

AU0911170093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Report by Enes Musabasic on a news conference by Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic and Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairman for the conference on Yugoslavia, and foreign and domestic correspondents in Sarajevo on 9 November—recorded]

[Text] [Musabasic] The most dominant issue of the talks between Stoltenberg and Silajdzic, which were also attended by some members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, concerned the humanitarian situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, the talks were held under the cloud of yesterday's abduction of two members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs by the aggressor. Summarizing the talks, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said:

[Silajdzic] [Words indistinct] yesterday's abduction of two members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This is a very serious incident, and it took place while we were trying to show as much goodwill as possible at a time like this, by organizing buses for the departure of civilians—which has been long expected—so this incident, the abduction of the two people, came at the worst of times. Mr. Stoltenberg, on his part, promised that he would do all he could to have these two members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs released.

We naturally also talked about the issues that brought Mr. Stoltenberg here, and that is the peace process. Very briefly, the peace process can be resumed once it is taken more seriously. As far as we are concerned, it has to be within the framework of the Security Council, the resolutions of the Security Council, and within the framework set by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly. I have said that as far as I am concerned, there are two logical places for holding any kind of a future conference, and one is the UN building in New York and the other is Sarajevo. If there is another London conference, it could be held in the UN building in New York or in Sarajevo. However, it should first implement the decisions of the first London conference. One cannot hold a London conference forever, so the second London conference would be in effect the implementation of the first London conference.

As for the humanitarian situation, Mr. Stoltenberg encouraged us with the news that work was being done on a humanitarian corridor—the route has still not been determined—and that, according to the EC and UN plan, this issue will be pressed as much as possible in order to deliver the most urgently needed food, heating substances, and clothes to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We have emphasized the problem of Mostar. I think that the situation is really dramatic there. There is of course the problem of Tesanj and Maglaj. We are satisfied with the supplies that have been airdropped to Mostar, and we hope that this will continue, and we hope that the operation will also continue over Maglaj and Tesanj. We

also spoke about Gorazde being in a very difficult situation as we believe that an offensive is in preparation there, troops are being brought in from Serbia, volunteers from Montenegro. We are afraid that the offensive on Gorazde is about to be launched, and we have already informed the Security Council. You know that we asked yesterday for an urgent session of the Security Council over the abduction of the two members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. We hope that they will be released as soon as possible.

We discussed the airport in Tuzla as well. Mr. Stoltenberg's assistant [name indistinct] told us that, if there is enough goodwill and understanding, that issue of the Tuzla airport could soon be solved.

[Musabasic] Thorvald Stoltenberg then addressed the reporters.

[Stoltenberg, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] I promised to follow up yesterday's event and see what can be done on the release of the two members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. I will demand a full report and I believe that I will get it during the day.

As you know, I came here to exchange views with Prime Minister Silajdzic on securing the convoys and their escorts after that incident in Novi Travnik. As you know, there have been many similar incidents, and it is of crucial importance to secure the passability of these convoys, and not block them. We are aware of the seriousness of the consequences were that to happen. I hope that the humanitarian convoys will again [head by land]. That is why all the sides have to cooperate with us, and we can cooperate on securing the people and the corridors so that the convoys can pass.

[Musabasic] Stoltenberg emphasized that the [word indistinct] opening of humanitarian corridors was a matter of days and not weeks.

Prime Minister Silajdzic added to this that individual incidents such as the one in central Bosnia were possible even though the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government guarantees the safety of the UN people. Bosnia-Herzegovina has been for 18 months living in a stone age thanks to the international community, which equates the aggressor and the victim. That is why we expect the international community to observe the UN resolutions, to respect at least one of the resolutions that have been passed on Bosnia-Herzegovina. That would help us a lot, Silajdzic said.

In response to a question about the fate of the civilian convoys from Sarajevo, Dr. Silajdzic stressed that the operation has been brought into question for security reasons and because of yesterday's abduction.

The reporters asked Stoltenberg why the peace talks were blocked.

[Stoltenberg, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] The main reason is because there

was not enough flexibility toward the [September proposal], and we did not get far with the new idea of a global approach. That is why we were in everyday contact with the interested sides, with the EC governments, the United States, and Russia. When we think that there are grounds for accepting the [September proposal] or a global approach, or some kind of a coordination, then we will [call for a meeting]. However, [words indistinct] we have to have the essential grounds for [words indistinct]

[Musabasic] Dr. Haris Silajdzic also addressed the reporters on the fate of the peace process.

[Silajdzic, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] [Words indistinct] We hope that the preparations for a new conference will not last too long. Second, we know that Mr. Stoltenberg is trying to do the best he can, but there is simply no progress. Why? Because it has been confirmed over the last 18 months that [force mattered]. [word indistinct] laws is not for Bosnia, democracy is not for Bosnia, a multicultural society is not for Bosnia. All these things are for other, [happier] countries.

That is why we insist on the implementation of the Security Council resolutions. They have to be implemented, otherwise, why do they exist. Had they been [implemented], we would have had a different situation here today. But we are still prepared to join the negotiating process under the auspices of the United Nations and the European Community, and in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council, the CSCE, the European Parliament, the Conference on Human Rights in [passage indistinct].

#### **Stoltenberg, Boban Discuss Security Issues, Aid** *LD0911161393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] This is Natasa Skaro reporting for Croatian radio from Divulje near Split, where Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairman of the peace conference on former Yugoslavia, and Mate Boban, president of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, today discussed security issues regarding humanitarian aid convoys to central Bosnia.

Stoltenberg said that after his talks with Boban and Silajdzic he believed that the convoy would depart over the next few days, i.e. immediately after concrete steps have been decided on. Stoltenberg will recommend this to the UN general secretary and report to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces].

Boban said that Stoltenberg confirmed that Muslim forces were responsible for the death of a Danish driver in Travnik and that Silajdzic labeled them as uncontrolled groups. Boban set several basic conditions today, the most important one being that aid must reach Croat enclaves in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in particular since Croats had never created any problems or blocked the

convoys. Boban also insisted that responsibility for future problems must be established to avoid arbitrary accusations.

**Abdic Expects 'Worse' Situation in Western Bosnia**

AU0911131693 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 93 p 9

[Interview with Fikret Abdic, president of the autonomous province of western Bosnia, by Julije Katancevic in Sisak; date not given: "I Do Not Trade With Territory"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Katancevic] How do you assess the current situation in the territory of the autonomous province of western Bosnia and the latest changes in the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Abdic] The current situation in western Bosnia can be assessed as relatively calm, but that does not surprise me in the least. The 5th Corps is being reorganized in the wake of the latest cadre change; that is, Ramiz Drekovac's departure. In fact, I expect the situation even to deteriorate, because Atif Dudakovic was the first commander to issue the order to shoot at civilians in Johovica on 3 October and even fired some shots himself. With his arrival as the head of the 5th Corps I can only expect the situation to become even worse than it is now. [passage omitted]

[Katancevic] How much truth is there in the story that Izetbegovic and Silajdzic are skillfully using the media with a view to confronting the western Bosnian population since they have not managed to do so though the 5th Corps?

[Abdic] People are afraid and they are afraid because of the misinformation presented to them. This is also the case with this passenger convoy. Many false reports were issued that Serbs are going to maltreat the people in the convoy and that this is a sort of a game I am playing for Croatia's benefit, only in order to be able to create a "greater Serbia," that is, a "greater Croatia." [passage omitted]

[Katancevic] What guarantees did you receive from the Serbian side that the convoy's passage will be unhindered?

[Abdic] I received guarantees that we will be able to pass through unhindered. This was also the case along the way toward Sisak. Nobody maltreated us and we reached Petrinja—that is, Sisak—without any problems. All these rumors that we are going to be maltreated had been made up by the people in the Muslim Corps [as published] who do not look forward to the peace but who want war.

[Katancevic] There has been much guesswork in the media about the concessions you had to make to the

Serbian side to be given the right to pass through. The rumor went that you swapped some territory for the passage.

[Abdic] There have been all kind of rumors, including the story about exchanging territories. However, I have not swapped anything. I really am a good tradesman, but I do not trade with territory.

[Katancevic] Did you cooperate with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] while preparing these convoys?

[Abdic] UNPROFOR has nothing to do with this job, or with the preparation of the convoys. We work completely separately. Everything is being done in accordance with the initiative signed in Zagreb, that is, the declaration signed in Belgrade.

**'Chetniks' Shell Sarajevo; 7 Dead, Over 40 Wounded**

AU0911142693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Chetniks have committed yet another crime against the innocent population of the Sarajevo district of Alipasino Polje. Unfortunately, the consequences of shelling this part of the town are tragic. According to the incomplete information, the two shells that landed on the territory of Novi Grad district killed seven and wounded over 40 people, mainly children. [passage omitted]

**Muslim 'Sabotage' Groups in 'Serb Territory'**

LD0911141893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1201 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 9 (TANJUG)—Muslim forces loyal to Alija Izetbegovic are continuing with attempts to infiltrate sabotage-terrorist groups into Serb territory, especially in the valley of the upper and central flow of the Drina river.

Overnight, Muslim forces launched major provocations by infantry and anti-aircraft weapons in the southern Bosnian areas of Ljubinje, Cajnice and Foca, TANJUG's correspondent from Trebinje cited Serb local military sources as saying.

Muslim forces also provoked Serb fighters west of Maglaj in central Bosnia, TANJUG's correspondent from Doboj reported citing Serb local military sources. In the wider region of Doboj, in northern Bosnia, and on the front near Mt. Ozren, especially towards Serb positions in the Jablanica region, north of Mostar, Muslim forces launched infantry and machine-gun attacks.



### Muslim Forces Reportedly Killed 7 Croat Civilians

LD0911180793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] Muslim units in Bugojno have committed the latest in a series of crimes against Croats. Two days ago a group of seven Croatian civilians from Bugojno escaped from the town in an attempt to reach Kupres. The Muslim Army intercepted the group in the village of Vesela and killed all of the Croatian civilians, the office for the exchange of prisoners and missing persons of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna reports.

### Serb Leader: Muslims Involved in 'Staged Massacre'

LD0911181493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Pale, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—Following today's massacre in Sarajevo, Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the republic of Srpska, told TANJUG tonight that this is not the first time the Muslims have done something like this only to accuse the Serbs afterwards. Koljevic said: "This is not the first time."

If you read General MacKenzie's book, you will find a description of such a staged massacre which took place when British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd visited Sarajevo. On that occasion he himself witnessed from his window that an ambulance and television cameras had been prepared.

I believe that this is a failed method and that the Muslim side is doing this in vain, as it will achieve nothing. It would be better if the Muslim side decided to sign a peace agreement, Nikola Koljevic said in his statement to TANJUG.

### Sarajevo Radio Reports Fighting in Gorazde, Olovo

AU0911202093

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT on 9 November carries in its regular 50-minute newscast several reports on fighting in the Republic.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps, reporting on the situation in Sarajevo, states that "residential areas were again targeted by the enemy [Serbian] artillery. Howitzer shells and mortars rained down on Zabrdje, while five mortars landed on Otoka from enemy positions at about 1600. Hrasno and Lemezovo were also shelled." The report says that "there was considerable massing of chetnik artillery in the region of Mt. Igman and Hadzici."

The studio announcer says that "today will be remembered for two massacres, one in Sarajevo and one in

Gorazde. The aggressor pounded the residential areas of Gorazde today with multiple-rocket launchers and even Plamen missiles. Four civilians were killed and 22 wounded. Convoys of heavy artillery and soldiers are pouring in toward this UN protected area from all the surrounding occupied territories and the aggressor's motherland of Serbia."

Enes Musovic then reports from Gorazde and says that "the chetniks are continuing to concentrate their forces and heavy artillery along the entire front around Gorazde, particularly in the areas from Ustipraga, Cajnice, Sokolac, and Foca. Is today's massacre of civilians here just an preview of the expected offensive against the free territory? The chetniks have been confirming this all day with intensified fire from their small arms and antiaircraft weapons against all the defense lines."

Reporting from Olovo, Amira Salihbasic says that "the Montenegrin chetniks today launched a massive combined artillery and infantry attack. The fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army successfully repulsed several attempts at infantry penetrations in the region of (?Pakis). They destroyed yet another enemy tank, which disappeared in the flames of the chetnik nest of Krivajevici. On the other side of the Olovo front, in the region of Crna Rijeka, the [Serbian] fascist aggressor launched a fierce artillery and infantry attack at (?0530) from the Nisic plains. Despite the enemy employing all kinds of artillery weapons and pushing forward strong infantry forces, our fighters are still holding them back with superhuman efforts even as we report."

In his report from Maglaj, Hajrudin Sermic says that "the town has again been exposed to ruthless and criminal shelling by the united [Serbian and HVO] aggressor. Just after midday, the enemy started shelling Maglaj using 120-mm mortars. The people are in their shelters, but still one person was killed and another wounded in the shelling."

The studio announcer then says that "the aggressor's vehicles, and also helicopters and Galeb aircraft have been flying over the free Doboj territory, which has also been targeted by tanks and Bofors guns." He says that the entire Mostar region was "targeted by the heaviest artillery that the HVO possesses. Three people were killed and seven wounded in Blagaj while out collecting humanitarian aid."

### President Tours Tuzla Area, Cites Anticrime Work

AU0911201393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Midhat Kulender report from Tuzla]

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, met representatives of the 2d

Corps Command and the Center for the Tuzla Security Services and discussed the current military and security situation.

President Izetbegovic held talks with the members of the Tuzla Presidency, the 2d Corps Command, and prominent people in the Tuzla commune. The local authorities informed the president of the Presidency about the current situation on this large free territory, where some 650,000 people live, of which 206,000 are refugees from the Podrinje region. Emphasis was placed on the difficulties connected with the delivery of humanitarian aid to this region. It was also stressed that the people in the energy industry had to be helped, particularly the miners, as they faced hard work in providing coal for the coming winter.

President Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency stressed to those present that an operation was

under way in our homeland to strengthen the legal state and, in connection with that, to clean up crime and war profiteering. This operation is under way and it will not be stopped until we are freed from everything that currently burdens us.

Current important issues were also discussed in defining political aims. Within his visit to the free territory, President Izetbegovic also visited Gradacac, Srebrenik, the free Brcko territory, (Radin), Celic, Lukavac, and Gracanica, all those places that we mention daily for their heroic struggle against the Serb-Montenegrin aggressor, the enemy of our state.

President Izetbegovic stressed that he was pleased to have visited this area, that he was honored by the hospitality bestowed on him by the brave people and fighters. [passage omitted]

**Susak: NATO Should Use Air Forces To Stop War***LD0911134393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak said in Washington yesterday that he will seek support for a new international conference on ways to stop the war in the countries created on the territory of former Yugoslavia. He announced that in his talks with U.S. officials he will seek U.S. support for strict control of Croatia's and Bosnia-Herzegovina's borders.

In an interview with REUTERS new agency which was given ahead of a meeting with U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin, the Croatian minister said that NATO and the United Nations should use their air forces in order to sever Serb supply lines over the Drina river and pressure the Serbs to negotiate peace.

Susak announced that in Washington he will have talks about UNPROFOR's role in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. If UNPROFOR retains the mandate it has had over the past two years there will be no results, Minister Susak said. Gojko Susak said that the UN resolutions demand strict control of Croatia's international borders which are at the same time borders of the UN Protected Areas, but in this respect almost nothing has been done. If borders are effectively controlled it will be seen that the Croatian army has not been helping the Bosnian Croats in the fighting that is currently in progress in central Bosnia, and at the same time the Serbs will be prevented from helping the Serbs in Croatia, Susak said.

Minister Susak, who met Aspin yesterday, is continuing his talks with State Department officials in Washington today.

**Authorities Ban HVO Movements in Brod, Posavlje***LD0911194193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Excerpt] No movement of HVO [Croatian Defense Council] formations is any longer permitted in Brod and Posavlje county. During the night of 4-5 November a large group of members of the 101st and 102d HVO brigades crossed the Sava river [from Bosnia-Herzegovina to Croatia] without the knowledge of the Croatian civilian authorities, thus provoking the chetniks based on the opposite bank to launch a relentless artillery attack on the villages of the eastern part of Slavonski Brod Posavlje. This was stated among other things by Prefect Jozo Meter at an expanded session of the Brod and Posavlje county authorities today. [passage omitted]

**Krajina Serb Shelling of Karlovac Reported***LD0911213493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Rebel Serbs launched a fierce attack on the Karlovac suburbs of Turanj, Sajevec, and (Miksici) at around 1900 this evening. About 40 mortar shells hit these districts in the southeast approaches to the town. According to the department for political activity of the Croatian Army's Karlovac operation area, there were no casualties, and the UN Protection Forces has been informed about the attack.

**Croatian Artillery Attack Reported in Krajina***LD0911141093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1226 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 9 (TANJUG)—The Croatian artillery is almost continually attacking Serb settlements in the region of Benkovac, west of Knin, Iskra, the news agency of the Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.), said on Tuesday [9 November], citing a statement issued by the Krajina army headquarters on Tuesday morning.

There have been no casualties among the R.S.K. fighters and population, but considerable material damage on residential buildings has been reported.

The R.S.K. fighters were forced to respond to the attacks, the source said, since a UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] appeal to the Croatian Army command to stop combat actions has remained without result.

R.S.K. was formed by Serbs in parts of Croatia where they have lived for centuries and made up the majority population and in protest against the degradation of their status to the one of a national minority, imposed on them by the new Croatian authorities following the forcible secession of Croatia from the former Yugoslavia. The R.S.K. was proclaimed a U.N. Protected Area (UNPA) in March last year.

**Heating Fuel Shortage Leads to Emergency Request***LD0911094093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0903 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] The government office for the displaced persons and refugees has warned that Croatia will not be able to provide heating for about half a million people in its care in the oncoming winter. The office has asked for emergency aid from Croatian and foreign humanitarian organizations and other people willing to help in providing wood and coalburning as well as oil and gas stoves and large quantities of fuel, which are required urgently.



**Foreign Minister Confers With Greek Counterpart**

*LD0911233293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in  
Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias has arrived in Croatia for a two-day visit. During his visit the Greek minister will also talk to President Tudjman and leaders of Croatia's opposition parties. Tonight, Croatian Foreign Minister Granic received his Greek counterpart. Tihomir Vinkovic reports.

[Vinkovic] Following their talks, Greek Minister Karolos Papoulias said that he was very satisfied with the talks and the Croatian side's friendly welcome and went on to say:

[Begin Papoulias recording, in Greek with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] It is obvious that there are many shared standpoints and views on the crisis in these lands. I hope that tomorrow's talks with President Tudjman will be successful, too. [end recording]

[Vinkovic] Following the talks Minister Granic said:

[Begin Granic recording] The meeting was very beneficial and provided a great deal of information. This meeting gave me an opportunity to explain President Tudjman's initiative for a lasting solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, reintegration of the UN Protected Areas into Croatia's state and legal system, and a lasting consolidation of peace in the entire area of southeast Europe.

On the other hand, we were able to hear about my Greek counterpart's experiences during his earlier talks. As for bilateral talks, we believe that there are no obstacles to rapidly improving relations in the economic, political, cultural, and scientific sphere between Greece and Croatia. We talked about all aspects of problems and all the aspects of President Tudjman's peace initiative as well as his attitudes to some other initiatives. It is too early to draw any final conclusions until the minister meets President Tudjman tomorrow. He will also take part in several other important meetings. Eventually we will wrap this up at a joint working meeting. [end recording]

**SNS Leader: Tudjman Initiative  
'Counterproductive'**

*LD0911200693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in  
Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Leaders of the Serbian People's Party [SNS] explained to journalists [at a news conference] today their stand on the peace initiative offered by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. Sanja Cotor reports.

[Cotor] Appreciating President Tudjman's best intentions for a peaceful settlement of the crisis, Milan Djukic [SNS chairman] says that the initiative is counterproductive because it came too late. The initiative is one year

late, because a year ago the SNS proposed a plan on peaceful and democratic means to solve the crisis, which were even accepted by the National Security Council. Djukic went on to say that it was then that Croatia should have proved that it cared for its occupied territories as well as for the Serbs living there. In Djukic's opinion, Croatia showed interest only for the territory, but it did not solve the social issues of the local Serbs and eased their return to the free areas of Croatia, while it launched the Maslenica and Gospic [military] actions.

The president's initiative offers nothing new that has not been written down in the constitutional law, and it dwells least on the rights of the Serbs living in the free areas of Croatia. [passage omitted]

**Commentary Views Italian Policy Toward Croatia**

*AU1011123193 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in  
Serbo-Croatian 2 Nov 93 p 4*

[Commentary by Inoslav Besker: "Does Italy Hate Us?"]

[Text] Does Italy hate us? Does it plot against us with our enemies? Does it have territorial pretensions? Does it want Croatia to become even smaller? Or is it that we—because of our fears and because we are obsessed with ourselves and our nonexistent international importance—react hysterically as soon as we get the impression that someone does not like us as much as our endless virtues require? As usual, the truth is far beyond catchy simplifications.

Indeed, if one would pile up statements made by some Italian personages—from De Michelis, when he was foreign minister, and even more when he stopped being one, to the present chief of diplomacy Andreatta, and when we add visits and moves of Senator Agnelli, views of the representative Toth, the congress resolution of the Liberal Party, actions of General Lalli, articles in *CORRIERE DELLA SERA* and *TEMPO*, "Mixer" television programs on RAI 2, accusations of Monseigneur Santarossa, criticism of Archbishop Bommarco, and statements about the volunteer brigade "Garibaldi" in the Chetnik units—it would not be very difficult to create an impression that, in Italy, there are constant systematic activities against Croatia, its interests, and its reputation.

To prove this impression, we should first of all forget about all those elements that pertain to Italy—the fifth economic force of the world, whose population (together with Britain and France) follows Russia and Germany in Europe, with a problematic economic and chaotic political domestic situation and 13 parliament-represented national and several regional parties, which often engage in bloody feuds even within parties.

We correspondents (perhaps for fear of being reproached for the lack of Croato-centrism as lack of vigilance or lacking patriotism) are also often guilty of the fact that, in the gibberish of Italian political gift of tongues,

Croatia cannot even discern the important from the not so important or those who are important from those who are not.

The only important thing for us is what Italy, which is ten times bigger and by far our most powerful neighbor, intends to do as a state, and it will always, naturally, show its interest as a big fish toward a smaller fish. The views of most of the Italian public are also important; the rest can perhaps be an oddity (and thus important for correspondents), but it can be neither essential nor important (and, therefore, politically uninteresting—except for the special goals of some in Croatia).

It was important to hear the views of, for example, De Michelis as the head of diplomacy or the second man of the second government's party. Today, when he is a representative burdened by court inquiries, without chances for a soon political recovery, in the party that is crushed—his views can only be an oddity, but they carry no weight, for the weight (political, of course) of De Michelis also depended on his position and not on his influence abroad. The same holds true for others who make public appearances in Italy.

As we wrote several times before: There are real iridescent tendencies toward Croatia or some of its parts in all parties, but that hardly amounts to more than 5 percent of Italian politicians; even some neo-fascists do not reach for Istria, saying that Italy does not need a second South Tirol (Rauti). Whenever we roar at every such instance of historic idiocy of someone called Agnelli or

Misisoni, we give them strength and reverberation that they could not even dream of getting in Italy.

Second—which is also a bit negative—ever since the historic and mutually cruel Venetian-Croatian rivalry on the Adriatic Sea, and especially since the involvement of Croatian troops in the Austrian suppression of Italian nationalism, they fear "Croatian barbarians." We, the Croats, also have something to add, but those are inevitable neighborly historic impedimenta, which can be used only when there is a quarrel caused by the above-mentioned reasons.

We should not be concerned that Italy show a constant interest in Istria; rather, we should be worried if we do not display the same kind of interest in Gradisce [Burgenland] or Bosnia, and we should be ashamed of the fact that, concerning the Croats in Molise or in the Julian March, we do not even do one-tenth of what Italy is doing for the Italians living in Croatia. We should not be worried even if, out of 57 million Italians, several hundreds of them voluntarily join the Chetniks, but we should ask ourselves why the Italian humanitarian aid has decreased over the past two years and to what extent was that a consequence of our compatriots' actions, even of those living abroad.

If, deep down inside, we were sure that everything we are doing is right, and, if we were convinced that exactly those things we want are being realized, then we would not be so sensitive about every word of criticism, especially not about unfair ones. We also would not invent enemies where there are none, especially at a time when we are forced to bear the real enemy in our country, where it is very much present.

### Federal

#### President Appeals to UN To Lift Sanctions

LD0911173793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1547  
GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav President Zoran Lilic has appealed to UN Secretary-General Butrus-Butrus Ghali to initiate in the Security Council the process for lifting sanctions against Yugoslavia.

In his letter to Butrus-Ghali, Lilic said that Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) had from the outset pursued a constructive policy and invested efforts for a peaceful and just settlement of the crisis in former Yugoslavia, the presidential press office said on Tuesday [9 November].

To continue with the collective punishment of the Yugoslav citizens when everybody is aware that this country is guilty of no aggression and is not a party to any conflict would be to violate both international law and the UN charter, said Lilic.

The UN Security Council imposed tough sanctions on Yugoslavia in late May of 1992 for its alleged involvement in civil war in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In similar messages to U.S. President Bill Clinton, French President Francois Mitterrand, British Prime Minister John Major, Chinese President Jiang Zemin and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Lilic asked the leaders of the Security Council permanent member-states to support the launching of an initiative for lifting the sanctions.

#### Dinar Rate Devalued to 700,000 Per Dollar

LD0911204693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1859 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—The federal government tonight decided to devalue the currency; there are now 700,000 dinars to the U.S. dollar, Government President Radoje Kontic has told reporters.

This uniform exchange will be adjusted daily at inter-banking meetings. It will also be applied to old hard currency savings, so from now on citizens will be able to convert 20 instead of 30 German marks into dinars.

The government has also decided to abolish the current account exchange rate which used to be up to twice as high as the street exchange rate.

#### 'Unprecedented Chaos' in Shops

LD0911135993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1013 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—A real explosion of the giro exchange rate has caused unprecedented chaos in shops. Buyers are simply fighting to buy any product of substantial value. By far the highest demand is for fresh and processed meat.

Since yesterday afternoon, people have been standing in long lines in front of larger banks and well-supplied private shops. Some are waiting to sell foreign exchange at extremely high exchange rates and others, with piles of cheques, to descend on goods.

The German mark is being sold for payments on giro-accounts at a rate of between 1.2 and 1.5 million dinars. Last night, before closing time, the rate was as high as 1.7 million dinars. Nobody dares predict what will happen this evening.

Many private supermarkets and shops began their working day by adjusting prices. All prices are calculated according to the fluctuating German mark exchange rate. The rate was 1.8 to 2.0 million dinars before 1000 this morning, but some traders are going above this level.

In the large and well-supplied private Zig supermarket in New Belgrade, quibbling with customers has been going on since last night. After every larger sale for cheques the price is changed or the goods are kept in storage before being put on the shelves. [passage omitted]

#### Monetary System Near 'Collapse'

LD0911175293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1625  
GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 9 (TANJUG)—Daily hikes of the hard currencies against the national currency, the dinar, are relentlessly pushing the Yugoslav monetary system over the edge of collapse, Yugoslav experts warn.

The value of the hard currencies on the black market in Belgrade is on Tuesday [9 November] rising by the hour, having tripled from morning till evening on Monday.

The best exchange rate can be obtained at some private and state banks which pay the dinar equivalent into the client's account rather than cash.

The state banks were paying 500,000 dinars for one deutsche mark in the morning on Monday, and up to 1.7 million dinars in the evening, to open on Tuesday at 1.3 million dinars. How the market will close on Tuesday is anybody's guess.

On the street, the deutsche mark [German mark] was selling for 600,000 dinars early on Tuesday, double what it was on Monday morning. The deutsche marks has risen 24 times against the dinar in the past fortnight.

Long queues were forming this morning outside all Belgrade shops selling luxury goods. The prices are running amok—a man's shirt, for instance, is selling for 23 million dinars, as against the 7.5 million of 24 hours ago. And it is a sellers' market, with prices expected to rise further and the buyers in a fine frenzy of acquisition.

State- and privately-owned shops which have not closed their doors to the rush of buyers shopping for everything in sight or adjusted their prices against the most favourable exchange rates have been brought to the verge of bankruptcy.



During the day, the National (Central) Bank is expected to come out with emergency measures designed to shore up the crumbling economy and prevent a total monetary collapse.

In the view of the experts, the chaos is due to a shortage of hard currency, brought on by air-tight sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council 18 months ago for Yugoslavia's alleged involvement in civil war in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina. The sanctions are blocking both exports and imports, as well as all financial transactions with the world, and have frozen the country's assets abroad.

The inflation rate stood at a record 1,900 percent in October.

#### **Trade Minister on Severe Impact of Sanctions**

*LD0911221893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2112 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Trade Milorad Unkovic says that Yugoslavia has sustained damages to the tune of 25 billion dollars through international sanctions clamped on the country 18 months ago for its alleged involvement in civil war in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This is how much the country has lost in the plummeting gross national product (GNP) and a reduced flow of capital, Unkovic told the REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, which the periodical carries in its special issue devoted to the sanctions.

The GNP dropped by 27 percent in 1992 as against 1991, and is expected to fall by a further 30 percent this year, the minister said.

He explained that Yugoslavia had been under sanctions actually for two years, since the European Community, its greatest foreign trade partner, had imposed an economic blockade in November of 1991, before the United Nations did the same in late May of 1992.

Yugoslav exports in 1992 were halved and imports were lower by 37 percent as against 1991, leading to a trade deficit of 1.3 billion dollars, he said.

He released figures to show that 20 Yugoslav ocean-going ships, 43 river ships and six aircraft—worth a total of 600 million dollars—were impounded abroad.

The biggest problems are in the medical field, although this is one field which international conventions and humanitarian law say must not be subjected to sanctions, he said.

A rise in infant mortality, mortality from otherwise curable diseases, inadequate health care for children, expectant mothers and old folk, all indicate that the sanctions have jeopardised the basic human right—the right to life and health, said Unkovic.

Ironically, the countries which are the most ardent advocates of human rights and freedoms are also the loudest advocates of the sanctions, he specified.

He went on to say that the country is encountering great problems in the import of heating fuel and humanitarian imports—the necessary commodities for the manufacture of medicaments, articles of hygiene and fertilizer.

The U.N. Sanctions Committee is procrastinating with the review of Yugoslavia's applications for humanitarian fuel imports, and with a Russian request for gas deliveries to Yugoslavia for these purposes.

Unkovic stressed that barely one million workers are practically supporting the nearly eleven million Yugoslavs and about 800,000 refugees.

The unemployed army has swollen to 750,000, a million people have been laid off with token pay because of a slump induced by the sanctions, there are 1.2 million pensioners, and there were 3 million people on welfare in December of 1992, he specified.

#### **Serbia**

#### **SPS Offers 'Deal' For Lifting of Sanctions**

*AU1011065393 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[Report by Zoran Zivkovic]

[Text] The majority of citizens will be voting in the elections and will vote for the candidates of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], said Ivica Dacic, the Socialists' spokesman, at a news conference. In this way we will create a stable government that will secure results already achieved in maintaining state and national interests.

The coming elections should secure a stable parliament with a stable government supported by a parliamentary majority, which has not been the case in the past. In this way the government will be able to deal efficiently with current problems, said Dacic. Here is his proposed deal: 3 percent of the republic of Srpska's territory in exchange for lifting the sanctions.

[Begin Dacic recording] The protection of state and national interests is not a question of exchanging either territories or the people who live in these areas. It is high time the international community abandoned this kind of talk and its attempts to solve the situation in Yugoslavia in this way, that is, by lighting a fuse under the barrel of gunpowder called the Balkans, and to simply take the step and apply international pressure to the side which is refusing to sign the peace agreement. [end recording]

Dusanka Djogo, member of the Executive Committee of the Main Committee, made a statement on Zoran Djindjic's [leader of the Democratic Party] accusations that the Socialists do not have their own policy.

[Begin Djogo recording] Most likely by not wanting to admit his party's weaknesses—which include chaos, personal vanity, disagreement among the leading people in the party, struggles for the position of leader, the absence of a constructive program for the Democratic Party, and the constant evolution of their social and political identity—Zoran Djindjic is assailing with unsubstantiated stances the most consistent, most principled, and ideologically and politically strongest political force in Serbia, the SPS. [end recording]

Commenting on the fact that certain political parties did not sign the agreement on behavior during the election campaign, Dacic said: They did not sign because the regulations do not guarantee the inequality of big and small parties, which is what some opposition parties demanded. The other reason is that these opposition parties did not want to apply these regulations to all public media. That is why the Socialists, said Dacic, will ask for the regulations to be applied to all the public media, with sanctions if they are not applied, just as has been requested of Radio Television Serbia.

### Macedonia

#### High-Ranking Officials Reportedly Arrested

LD1011011593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0041  
GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Skopje, November 9 (TANJUG)—Radio Skopje said late on Tuesday evening [9 November] that two high-ranking officials of the government of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (F.Y.R.M.) had been arrested, but the alleged arrests have not been confirmed by any official organs yet.

Assistant Defence Minister Hisen Haskaj and Deputy Health Minister Imer Imeri have been the arrested, the radio said. The names indicate that the two officials are ethnic Albanians.

The radio said that the F.Y.R.M. Government on Monday evening held a closed session where a police report on the arrests had been considered.

Eight ethnic Albanians have been arrested in the towns of Tetovo, Gostivar and Skopje on charges of smuggling infantry weaponry into the country and conspiring to topple its constitutional order, the radio further said on Tuesday evening.

The source also said that the police discovered 300 automatic rifles in the last two days alone, and that this group had planned to put as many as 20,000 ethnic Albanians under arms and engage them for its purposes.

Skopje television said late on Tuesday evening that the arrested ethnic Albanians had formed paramilitary or parapolic organizations in Tetovo, Gostivar and Skopje in cooperation with organs and individuals from the Republic of Albania and the Province of Kosovo-Metohija, in the south of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Their objective had been to topple the constitutional order of the F.Y.R.M., Skopje television said, the secession of certain parts of the state and the establishment of a republic of ethnic Albanians in western F.Y.R.M., so-called Ilirida, which would then be annexed to Albania.

Ethnic Albanians account for a little under one-fourth of the around two million citizens of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia.

#### Police Arrest Deputy Ministers

AU1011145493 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 10 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Terrorist Group Arrested"]

[Text] Radio Skopje and the Macedonian Television inform that the Ministry of Internal Affairs discovered, arrested, and brought criminal charges against a group of eight Albanian citizens on November 7 and 8. The group is suspected of planning enemy activities against Macedonia and preparing an attempt of overthrowing the constitutional establishment by force. The suspects, in collaboration with certain institutions and administrative organs from Albania and Kosovo, were forming paramilitary forces for secession of parts of Macedonia, later to become a republic called "Ilirida," and finally to be annexed to Albania. Police have also found and confiscated 300 automatic rifles, and lists of about 20,000 Albanians to be recruited in the paramilitary forces and armed. Two of the suspects in custody are Husein Hofkai, assistant defense minister, and Imer Imeri, deputy health minister. The Ministry of Internal Affairs is expected to give official statement on the news these days. Leaders of the PDP (Party for Democratic Prosperity) should also come out with official statements about this.

#### Democratic Party of Serbs President Resigns

AU1011130993 Skopje MIC in English 9 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Pressure From North"]

[Text] The President of the Democratic Party of the Serbs in Macedonia Boro Ristic submitted his resignation.

NOVA MAKEDONIJA found out that he was forced to this measure due to strong outside pressure and the clash between the party leadership of the Serbs in Macedonia and the Association of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Macedonia. This clash was further enhanced following

the signing of the minutes between the Government and the Party of the Serbs in Macedonia.

It is commented in Macedonia that in the period following the signing of these minutes, by coincidence or not, visits of Serbian priests in Macedonia have become more frequent, particularly in the Kumanovo region. Simultaneously, the presence of people belonging to the top party leadership of the Seselj Serbian Radical Party has been noticed in this region.

NOVA MAKEDONIJA concluded that the efforts to create and "extended hand" of a political organization in Macedonia, which will lead a policy according to instructions from the North, have still not ceased. To the contrary, the newspaper writes, the opposers to the policy of the Serbs deciding their own fate in the state they live in, are taking over the wheel of the Party and the Association of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Macedonia.

#### Turkish Defense Minister Ready To Send Troops

AU0911135093 Paris AFP in English 1334 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] Skopje, Nov 9 (AFP)—Turkey is ready to dispatch troops to Macedonia "if necessary" in order to prevent the spread of fighting to this former Yugoslav republic, Turkish Defence Minister Mehmet Golhan said on Tuesday [9 November].

"I fear that the war in ex-Yugoslavia will continue a long time and a real danger exists that it may expand to Macedonia," he said during an interview on Macedonian Radio.

According to Golhan, new sanctions against Serbia are necessary and a "military intervention" should also be carried out. Turkey is willing to "contribute militarily" to such an operation, he said.

"If Serbia does not give up its idea of a greater Serbia, the conflict will spread to Macedonia and Turkey will be obliged to intervene whether it wants to or not," the defence minister said.

Golhan also denounced the United Nations' behaviour regarding the situation in ex-Yugoslavia, which he said "encourages the Serbs" and leaves "no end of the conflict in sight."

#### Turkey To Train Officers

LD0911233693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2235 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Text] Skopje, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—In Ankara talks began today between Vlado Popovski and Mehmed Gelhan, the defense ministers of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey, Skopje Radio reported tonight.

The Turkish minister said that his country was going to train officers for the Macedonian Army. Minister Popovski said that Turkey was a factor of peace in the Balkans and further afield and that Macedonia regarded it as its great ally.

Both sides expressed their interest in "improving relations in all spheres between the two friendly countries."

#### Montenegro

##### Bulatovic Comments on Talks With Greek Minister

AU0911213093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Nov 93

[Report by Dragoljub Pavicevic]

[Text] The talks between Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias, Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic, Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic, and [Foreign] Minister Lekic took place in the Villa Gorica and lasted about one hour. This was the first visit to Montenegro by a foreign minister of an EC member country after the breakup of former Yugoslavia. Following the talks, the guest from friendly Greece and his hosts addressed reporters, of which 37 were from Greece.

Minister Papoulias said that he discussed two complex issues with the political leadership of Montenegro; first, the solving of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and second, the bilateral relations of Montenegro and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with friendly Greece in conditions of the blockade and everything that has been happening as a consequence of this burden.

Papoulias said that the EC would have to review the issue of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I am convinced, stressed the Greek minister, that it is necessary for us to adapt to the present development of events and to make new decisions in this light. We had almost identical stances as regards the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the same basis for stopping it, said the Greek foreign minister. As far as the bilateral cooperation is concerned, continued the Greek minister, we listened to the stances of the Montenegrin political leadership, and once we return to Athens, we will try—to the extent that this will be possible—to solve certain issues.

Greece will in any case send humanitarian aid, stressed Papoulias, but there is a big problem here which concerns the blockade of the Montenegrin merchant navy. Of course, we will try to help here as well, because we have just learned that 70 percent of your republic's merchant navy is blocked around the world. I hope, said Papoulias, that we will soon meet under better circumstances. The president of the Republic of Montenegro said that he considered the talks with the Greek diplomat to be very successful.



[Begin Bulatovic recording] It was a great pleasure for us to receive in our midst—for a short time unfortunately, but nevertheless sincerely—the minister of the friendly country of Greece. We concluded with great pleasure that the talks with the leadership of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were a success, and we expressed hope and conviction that the Greek minister's diplomatic initiative would yield results and would contribute to the stabilization of relations in the Balkan region.

We particularly made use of the occasion to inform our esteemed collocutor of the catastrophic economic consequences which are a result of the UN Security Council sanctions. We also welcomed with pleasure all the individual initiatives for the further continuation of bilateral cooperation with the goal of increasing the level of understanding and further development of the friendship between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Greece.

The reality in which we live and the problems that burden us are truly colossal, but after such a friendly meeting and the understanding words which we heard we have more hope that peace will soon prevail in these areas and that there will be more reason for a happier and better life. [end recording]

After this, reporters addressed their questions. In response to a question as to whether Greece believes that Kosovo should not be included in the solving of all the problems present on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, Mr. Papoulias said: The Greek Government cannot but notice that Kosovo is from time to time used for instigating certain unrests. We wish wholeheartedly that these conflicts will never occur so that peace in our region is not disturbed. We have information that there is a tendency towards provoking crises in Yugoslavia and on our territory. We hope that there will be as few crises as possible, said the Greek diplomat.

In response to a Greek reporter's question as to how Montenegro was communicating with Albania after his visit to Tirana, President Bulatovic said:

[Begin Bulatovic recording] Our visit to Tirana followed a long period during which the border which we share with this country was almost impenetrable. We agreed to have a series of contacts with the goal of primarily developing local border trade. Unfortunately, we have hit a standstill as regards this communication, and a number of the meetings that had been planned were postponed.

We believe that all complex issues and the great differences between Albania and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must be solved through a dialogue, and that this dialogue will be easier if we succeed in solving, step-by-step, those things which are in the interest of both sides. [end recording]

Mr. Papoulias announced that Greece had decided to open a consulate in Podgorica. After talks with the Montenegrin state leadership, Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias left for Sarajevo.

### Kosovo

#### Serbian Police Detain German Delegation

AU0911211793 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT  
9 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 9 (ATA)—A German delegation of the Movement of the Greens, led by Die Gruman, that has been visiting Kosova since November 6, was detained by Serbian police, which kept it for three hours at the police station in Prizren. The Information Center of Kosova reported that this action by the Serb police hurt the national sentiments of the members of the delegation.